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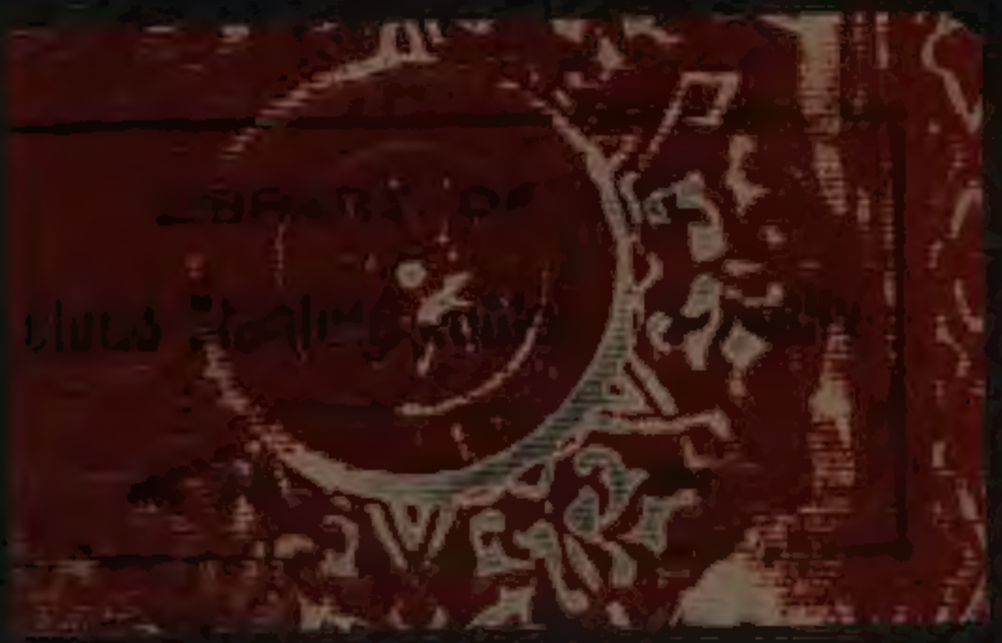

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THE

PROSE WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

VOLUME V.

CONTAINING THE SECOND BOOK OF

A TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,

COMPILED FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ALONE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL

BY

CHARLES R. SUMNER, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN. THE HISTORY OF MOSCOVIA.

ACCEDENCE COMMENCED GRAMMAR.

AND AN

INDEX TO THE FIVE VOLUMES.

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A POSTHUMOUS TREATISE

ON

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,

COMPILED FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ALONE;

IN TWO BOOKS:

BY

JOHN MILTON.

BOOK II.

OF THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

CHAP. I. — Of Good Works.

The subject of the first Book was Faith, or the Knowledge of God. The second treats of the Worship or Love of God.[1]

The true worship of God consists chiefly in the exercise of good works. Matt. xvi. 27. "then he shall reward every man according to his works." Rom. ii. 13. "not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." Philipp. i. 11. "being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ." iv. 8. "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things: those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do; and the God of peace shall

[1] See Book I. p. 12, note.

be with you." 2 Tim. iii. 17. "that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works." Tit. ii. 11, 12. "the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world." iii. 8. "this is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God may be careful to maintain good works." James i. 22. "be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves." 2 Pet. i. 5, &c. "besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge.... *&c.* for if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."

GOOD WORKS are THOSE WHICH WE PERFORM BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD WORKING IN US THROUGH TRUE FAITH, TO THE GLORY OF GOD, THE ASSURED HOPE OF OUR OWN SALVATION, AND THE EDIFICATION OF OUR NEIGHBOUR.

BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD WORKING IN US. John iii. 21. "that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God." 1 Cor. xv. 10. "by the grace of God I am what I am; and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me." 2 Cor. iii. 5. "not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God." Gal. v. 22. "the fruit of the Spirit is love.... gentleness, goodness, faith." Eph. ii. 10. "we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." v. 9. "the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth." Philipp. ii. 13. "it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure."

THROUGH FAITH. John xv. 5. "he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing." Heb. xi. 6. "without faith it is impossible to please him." James ii. 22. "seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect?" that is, how faith (to use a logical expression) constitutes the *form* of the works, and endows them with the

quality of goodness; and how it is itself consummated by the works, as by its end and natural product.

As to the position of divines, that the essential form of good works is their accordance with the decalogue,[2] so far as they are there prescribed, it is not easy to discover how this can be the case under the gospel. St. Paul certainly teaches a different doctrine, throughout the whole of Romans and elsewhere; declaring explicitly, Rom. xiv. 23. that "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." He does not say, "whatsoever is not of the decalogue, is sin," but "whatsoever is not of faith;" it is therefore an accordance with faith, not with the decalogue, that ought to be considered as the essential form of good works. Hence, if I observe the sabbath in compliance with the decalogue, but contrary to the dictates of my own faith, conformity with the decalogue, however exact, becomes in my case sin, and a violation of the law. For it is faith that justifies, not agreement with the decalogue; and that which justifies can alone render any work good, none therefore of our works can be good, but by faith; hence faith is the essential form of good works, the definition of form being, that by which a thing is what it is.[3] With regard to the passages in which mention is made of keeping God's commandments, 1 John ii. 4. iii. 24. and elsewhere, it seems reasonable to understand this of the precepts of the gospel, in which faith is uniformly put before the works of the law. If then in the gospel faith be above the works of the law, it must be equally above its precepts, for works are the end and fulfilling of precepts. Since therefore under the gospel, although a man should observe the whole Mosaic law with the utmost punctuality, it would profit him nothing without faith,[4] it is evident that good works must be defined to be of faith, not of the decalogue; whence it follows that conformity not with the written, but with the unwritten law, that is, with the law of

[2] See the Fifth Homily: Mede, B. I. Disc. 39. Bull, Vol. I. Sermon I. on Hos x 12.

[3] See Book I. page 97, note 2.

[4] .. .. His obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith, his merits
To save them, not their own, though legal works
Paradise Lost, XII. 403.

the Spirit given by the Father to lead us into all truth, is to be accounted the true essential form of good works. For the works of believers are the works of the Spirit itself; and though such can never be in contradiction to the love of God and our neighbour, which is the sum of the law, they may occasionally deviate from the letter even of the gospel precepts, particularly of those which are merely special through a predominating regard to the law of love; as was shown by Christ himself in the abolition of Sabbatical observances, as well as on several other occasions.[b] See Book I. chap. xxvii. on the Gospel.

To the Glory of God. Matt. v. 16. "let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." 1 Cor. x. 31. "do all to the glory of God." Philipp. i. 11. "being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God."

The assured hope of our own salvation. Gen. xv. 1. "thy exceeding great reward." Prov. x. 9. "he that walketh uprightly walketh surely." v. 25. "the righteous is an everlasting foundation." v. 29. "the way of Jehovah is straight to the upright." xi. 18, 19. "to him that soweth righteousness shall be a sure reward." xii. 3. "the root of the righteous shall not be moved." xiii. 21. "to the righteous good shall be repaid." xv. 24. "the way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath." xvi. 17. "he that keepeth his way preserveth his soul." xx. 7. "the just man walketh in his integrity, his children are blessed after him." Psal. xv. 1, 2. "Jehovah, who shall abide in thy tabernacle?" &c. Isai. xxxiii. 14, &c. "who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? .... he that walketh righteously." 2 Cor. vii. 1. "having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves—." Gal. vi. 8. "he that soweth to his flesh, shall of his flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Philipp. iii. 14. "I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." Heb. xi. 6. "he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them

[b] See Book I. page 362, note 2.

that diligently seek him." v. 26. "he had respect unto the recompense of the reward." xii. 2. "who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross."

THE EDIFICATION OF OUR NEIGHBOUR. Hence we are admonished so to act, that we may become examples to others. 2 Sam. xxi. 11, 12. "it was told David what Rizpah had done," &c. 2 Cor. viii. 24. "wherefore show ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf." Rom. xii. 17. "provide things honest in the sight of all men." 1 Tim. iv. 12. "be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity." Tit. ii. 4. "that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children." v. 7. "in all things showing thyself a pattern of good works." 1 Pet. ii. 12. "that whereas they speak against you as evil doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation." For a virtuous example excites, in the virtuous, an emulation of that virtue; Rom. xi. 14. "if by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them:" a vicious example, on the contrary, is productive of vicious emulation; Prov. xxiii. 17. "let not thine heart envy sinners;" xxiv. 7. "be not thou envious against wicked men;" as well as of offences, by which the strong are scandalized, and the weaker brethren, if not absolutely led into sin, rendered more remiss in the performance of good works. 1 Cor. x. 32, 33. "give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God; even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved." Matt. xviii. 6, 7. "whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him," &c. See also Mark ix. 42. Rom. xiv. 21. "it is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or offendeth, or is made weak." In this sense a man is said to be a stumbling-block to himself, when he indulges himself in any vice to which his nature inclines him. Matt. v. 29, 30. "if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out," &c. See also xviii. 7, 8.

Where however the offence does not proceed from any fault of ours, but from the frowardness or malignity of the

other party, the guilt rests not with him who gives, but with him who takes the offence. Matt. xv. 12, 13. "knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended after they heard this saying? but he answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up: let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind." Thus Christ did not break off his intercourse with the publicans through fear of scandalizing the Pharisees, but contented himself with giving reasons for his conduct: Matt. ix. 10, &c. "they that be whole need not a physician—." Luke xix. 7, &c. "the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." xx. 18. "whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." See Book I. chap. xxvii. on Christian Liberty.

As to what the Papists call works of supererogation, whereby more is done than the law prescribes, insomuch that some of the saints, through the superabundance of their works, have been enabled to purchase eternal life not only for themselves, but for others, such works are clearly impossible. For since we are commanded, under the gospel as well as under the law, to love and serve God with all our strength and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourselves, and since, consequently, there can be no excess in piety and charity, it follows that no act which we are capable of performing can be of such excellence as to fulfil, still less to transcend the requisitions of duty. Luke xvii. 10. "when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do." Those counsels of the gospel, therefore, which the Papists affirm to be of a higher nature than its precepts,[6] insomuch that if a man follow them, not being compelled so to do, he performs a work of supererogation, are not in reality counsels, as distinguished from precepts, nor of a higher nature than

[6] Founded upon 1 Cor vii. 6, 25, 26, 40. 2 Cor. viii. 8, 10. See Mosheim, Century II. chap. III. sec. 11—14. Hey's *Lectures*, Book iv. Art. 14, Sect. 2 Barbeyrac on Grotius *De Jure* I. 2. 9. Hill's *Lectures*, III. 251. These counsels of perfection, as they are called by the Papists, are commonly reduced to three; voluntary poverty, a vow of perpetual chastity, and of regular obedience; and to these three Milton alludes in the next page.

the latter; but are to be considered as particular precepts, given, not to all mankind, but to certain individuals, for special reasons and under special circumstances. Thus we are told, Matt. xix. 11. that it is good for those who have the gift of continence and can receive the saying, not to marry, whenever by remaining single they can more effectually promote the glory of God and the good of the church. Again, v. 21. whether the words of Christ are to be considered as precept or as simple counsel, it is certain that, had the young man to whom they were addressed fulfilled them in their utmost extent, he would have done nothing beyond what duty required, any more than Abraham when he led forth his son to sacrifice: for the commands of God, whether addressed to mankind in general, or to a particular class, or to an individual, are equally obligatory on the kind, or class, or individual to whom they are addressed. In the example just cited, obedience to the general precept of loving God above all things was singled out as an instance of duty to be required from the self-sufficient young man, for the purpose of exposing his folly and unfounded confidence, and of showing him how far he was from the perfection to which he pretended. For it was not the selling all he had, which has been done without charity, but the leaving his possessions and following Christ, which was to be the test of his perfection. With regard to the other instance of celibacy, 1 Cor. vii. this is neither made expressly a matter of precept nor of counsel, but is left free to the discretion of individuals, according to seasons and circumstances. To the above may be added, that, if there be any such works as are here described, those precepts must needs be imperfect, which require to be amended by supplementary admonitions. If, moreover, these latter are, as is alleged, of a higher order of excellence than the precepts themselves, who shall be sufficient to fulfil them? seeing that no one is able to perform entirely even the requisitions of the law. Not to mention, that the name of counsels is sometimes applied to precepts of universal application, and of the most imperative necessity; as Rev. iii. 18. "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire." Lastly, that prayer for forgiveness, which by Christ's command we all daily offer, is utterly irreconcileable with the vain boasting of works implied in this doctrine

It is true that in matters of choice and Christian l… one work may be more perfect than another: 1 Cor. v… "he doeth well he doeth better." 2 Cor. xi. 23. … they ministers of Christ? I am more;" but it is not le… duty of every one to do whatever may most effectually … mote the glory of God and the edification of his neighbou… Paul, had he so chosen, needed not have preached the g… without charge, 1 Cor. ix. 7, &c. but believing, as he di… a gratuitous service would be less open to suspicion, and … more to the edification of the church, he did nothing … than his duty in preaching gratuitously. No work of su… rogation was performed by Zaccheus, when he volun… gave half his goods to the poor, Luke xix. 8. nor by the … widow, when she cast into the treasury all that she had, … xii. 42. nor by the disciples, when they sold their land… divided the produce among the brethren, Acts iv. 34; … who did such actions only proved that they loved their n… bours, and especially the believing part of them, as thems… They were not however under any absolute obligation t… such extraordinary proofs of their love, Acts v. 4. for alth… perfection is proposed to all men as the end of their endea… it is not required of all.

Hence may be easily discerned the vanity of human m… seeing that, in the first place, our good actions are no… own, but of God working in us, secondly, that, were the… own, they would still be equally due; and, thirdly, th… any point of view, there can be no proportion betwee… duty and the proposed reward. Rom. vi. 23. "the gi… God is eternal life." viii. 18. "I reckon that the suffe… of this present time are not worthy to be compared wit… glory which shall be revealed in us." Hence although H… kiah asserts his uprightness in the sight of God, Isa. xx… 3. "remember now, O Jehovah, I beseech thee, how I … walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, … have done that which was good in thy sight," he is … from considering this as constituting any claim to re… that he acknowledges himself indebted to the free mer… God for the pardon of his sins: v. 17. "thou hast in lo… my soul delivered it from the pit of corruption, for thou … cast all my sins behind my back." So likewise Neh… xiii. 22. "remember me, O my God, concerning this also,

spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy." The declaration of God himself, Exod. xx 6. is to the same purpose. Lastly, that of which God stands in no need, can deserve nothing of him[1] Job xxii. 2, &c. "can a man be profitable with God?" xxxv. 7. "if thou be righteous, what givest thou him?" Luke xvii 10. "we are unprofitable servants." Rom. xi. 35. "who hath first given him—?" See Book I. chap. xxii. on Justification.

Opposed to good works are evil works; the vanity and bitterness of which are forcibly described by Isaiah, lix. 4, &c. "they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity; they hatch cockatrice' eggs—." Prov. ix. 3. "the perverseness of transgressors shall destroy them." v. 5. "the wicked shall fall by his own wickedness." xiii. 15. "the way of transgressors is hard." xxii. 5. "thorns and snares are in the way of the froward."

A good man is known by his works. Matt. xii. 35. "a good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things." 1 John iii. 7. "he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous." He is described Job xxix. 11 -25. "when the ear heard me, then it blessed me," &c. and elsewhere.

Sometimes, however, certain temporary virtues, or semblances of virtues, are discernible even in the wicked; as in Saul, 1 Sam. xix, and in the Jews, Jer. xxxiv. An outward show of liberality, gratitude, and equity, with a regard for the interest of his subjects, are visible in the king of Sodom, Gen. xiv. 21. See also the instance of Eglon, Judges iii. and of Belshazzar, Dan. v. 29.

The wicked man is described Psal x. 3, &c. "the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire," &c. xiv. 1, &c. "the fool hath said in his heart—." Prov. i. 11, &c. "if they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood—." iv. 14, &c. "enter not into the path of the wicked—." xxviii. 5, &c. "evil men understand not judgement."

[1] . . . . . God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts. *Sonnet* XIX. 9.

CHAP. II.—Of the Proximate Causes of Good Works.

The primary efficient cause of good works, as has been stated above, is God.

The PROXIMATE CAUSES OF GOOD WORKS are naturally, in ordinary cases at least, good habits, or, as they are called, VIRTUES; in which is comprised the whole of our duty towards God and man. Philipp. iv. 8. "if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise." 2 Pet. i. 5. "add to your faith virtue." These are partly general, or such as pertain to the whole duty of man; and partly special, or such as apply to the particular branches of that duty.

The general virtues belong partly to the understanding, and partly to the will.

Those which belong to the understanding are WISDOM and PRUDENCE.

WISDOM IS THAT WHEREBY WE EARNESTLY SEARCH AFTER THE WILL OF GOD, LEARN IT WITH ALL DILIGENCE, AND GOVERN ALL OUR ACTIONS ACCORDING TO ITS RULE.

THE WILL OF GOD. Deut. iv. 6. "keep therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom—." Psal. cxix. 66. "teach me good judgement and knowledge, for I have believed thy commandments." v. 98—100. "thou through thy commandments hast made me wiser than mine enemies.... than my teachers.... than the ancients." Prov. xxviii. 5. "they that seek Jehovah, understand all things." xxx. 5, 6. "every work of God is pure.... add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar." Rom. xii. 2. "be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God." xvi. 19. "I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil." Eph. v. 15. "see that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise." James iii. 13. "who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you? let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom." v. 17. "the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." 1 John ii. 3. "hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments." Hence the fear of the Lord is called wisdom, Job xxviii. 28. Psal. xxv. 14. "the

secret of Jehovah is with them that fear him." cxi. 10. "the fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom." See also Prov. i. 7. Eccles. xii. 13. "let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter," &c. So also Christ, 1 Cor. i. 30. "is made unto us wisdom." Col. ii. 3. "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom."

EARNESTLY SEARCH. Prov. ii. 4, &c. "if thou seekest her as silver—." James i 5. "if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him." Wisdom is readily found of such as seek her, and discloses herself to them of her own accord. Prov. i. 20, &c. "wisdom crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets." See also viii. 1, &c.

Wisdom is praised, Job xxviii. 13, &c. "it cannot be gotten for gold—." Prov. iii. 13, &c. "happy is the man that findeth wisdom." iv. 5, &c. "get wisdom—." viii. 6, &c. "hear, for I will speak of excellent things." Eccles. ix. 18. "wisdom is better than weapons of war."

The treasures of wisdom are not to be rashly lavished on such as are incapable of appreciating them. Prov. xxiii. 9. "speak not in the ears of a fool, for he will despise the wisdom of thy words." Matt. vii. 6. "give not that which is holy unto the dogs." Mark iv. 34. "without a parable spake he not unto them." 1 Cor. ii. 6. "howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world."

To wisdom is opposed folly; which consists, first and chiefly, in an ignorance of the will of God. Isai. i. 3. "the ox knoweth his owner." v. 13. "therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge." Jer. v. 4. "they are foolish, for they know not the way of Jehovah, nor the judgement of their God." viii. 7, &c. "yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times—." John xvi. 2, 3. "the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service; and these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me." xii. 10. "the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death." Eph. iv. 17, 18. "being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them." v. 17. "be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is." 1 Cor. ii. 8. "had they known it, they would

not have crucified the Lord of glory." 1 Tim. i. 13. "I did it ignorantly in unbelief."

Secondly, in a false conceit of wisdom. Num. xv. 39. "that ye seek not after your own heart." 1 Kings xviii. 17. "art thou he that troubleth Israel?" Prov. iii. 7. "be not wise in thine own eyes; fear Jehovah." xiv. 6. "a scorner seeketh wisdom and findeth it not." v. 12. "there is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death." xxi. 2. "every way of a man is right in his own eyes; but Jehovah pondereth the hearts." xxvi. 12. "seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him." xxviii. 26. "he that trusteth in his own way is a fool; but whoso walketh wisely he shall be delivered." Isai. v. 21. "woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes." John ix. 39. "that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind." Rom. i. 22. "professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." 1 Cor. viii. 2. "if any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know." Yet folly cries aloud, and invites mankind to her instructions, as if she were the sole depositary of wisdom. Prov. ix. 16. "whoso is simple, let him turn in hither."

Thirdly, in a prying into hidden things, after the example of our first parents, who sought after the knowledge of good and evil contrary to the command of God:[8] and of Lot's wife, Gen. xix. 26. xxxii. 29. "wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name?" Exod. xix. 23. "set bounds about the mount—." Deut. xxix. 29. "the secret things belong unto Jehovah our God." 1 Sam. vi. 19. "he smote the men of Bethshemesh, because they had looked into the ark of Jehovah." Acts i. 7. "it is not for you to know the times or the seasons." xix. 19. "many of them also which used curious arts, brought their books together." Rom. xii. 3. "not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith."

Fourthly, in human or carnal wisdom. Job. v. 12. "he

[8] .....Have my fill
Of knowledge what this vessel can contain;
Beyond which was my folly to aspire. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 558.
See also VII. 120. VIII. 172.

disappointeth the devices of the crafty." xii. 24. "he taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth." xxxviii. 13. 14. "man knoweth not the price thereof.... the depth saith, It is not in me—." Eccles. i. 17. "I gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly; I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit." vii. 29. "they have found out many inventions." xii. 12. "of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh." Isai. xix. 11. "the princes of Zoan are fools ... how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings?" xxix. 14. "the wisdom of their wise men shall perish." xxxiii. 11. "ye shall bring forth stubble." lix. 15. "he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey." Mark iii. 21. "when his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold on him; for they said, He is beside himself." John x. 20. "he hath a devil, and is mad." Acts xvii. 18. "certain philosophers of the Epicureans ... encountered him; and some said, What will this babbler say?" v. 32. "when they heard of the resurrection from the dead, some mocked." xxvi. 24. "Paul, thou art beside thyself." 1 Cor. i. 19, 20. "it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise." v. 23. "we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called," &c. iii. 19. "the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God." vi. 4. "if then ye have judgements of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church." Col. ii. 8. "beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy." Luke xii. 56, 57. "ye can discern the face of the sky, and of the earth.... and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" Hence we are frequently permitted to be deceived with false shows of human wisdom, in requital for our contempt of that which is true and divine. Psal. lxxxi. 11-13. "my people would not hearken to my voice.... so I gave them up unto their own hearts' lusts, and they walked in their own counsels."

PRUDENCE is that virtue by which we discern what is proper to be done under the various circumstances of time and place. Prov. xxix. 11. "a fool uttereth all his mind; but a wise man keepeth it in until afterwards." Eccles. iii. 1. "to every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven." v. 11. "he hath made every thing beautiful in his

time." Matt. x. 16, 17. "behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves: but beware of men—." Philipp. i. 9, 10. "that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgement, that ye may approve things that are excellent." Heb. v. 14. "strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." This quality is an indispensable seasoning to every virtue, as salt was to the ancient sacrifices. Mark ix. 49. "every one shall be salted with fire; and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt."

Hence the maxim, 'of the evils of sin choose none, of those of punishment the least.'[9] If this be true with regard to the evils of sin, it is obvious how preposterously they interpret the law, who hold that usury, divorce, polygamy, and the like, were conceded to the hard-heartedness of the Jews as venial infirmities, or as evils which were to be abated or regulated by law; whereas the law can no more concede or tolerate the smallest degree of moral evil, than a good man can voluntarily choose it.

Thus much of the general virtues which belong to the understanding; those which belong to the will are SINCERITY, PROMPTITUDE, and CONSTANCY.

SINCERITY, which is also called integrity, and a good conscience, consists in acting rightly on all occasions, with a sincere desire and a hearty mental determination. Gen. xvii. 1. "walk before me, and be thou perfect." Deut. xviii. 13. "thou shall be perfect with Jehovah thy God." Job xxvii. 5, 6. "till I die I will not remove mine integrity from me." Psal. xxvi. 1. "Judge me, O Jehovah, for I have walked in mine integrity." Prov. iv. 23. "keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." Matt. xii. 35. "a good man out of the good treasures of his heart bringeth forth good things—." Acts xxiii. 1. "I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day." xxiv 16. "to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." 2 Tim. i. 3. "I thank God, whom I serve

[9] Compare Gregorii, *Moral.* Lib. xxxii. c. 18; Gerson Tract 8. in Magnif. num. 83. lit. F.; Cic. *De Officiis* 3. 1. in.; Petrarch. Lib. v. *Epist. rerum senilium.*

from my forefathers with pure conscience." 1 Cor. iv. 4. "I know nothing of myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord." Philipp ii. 15. "that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation." Col. iii. 23. "whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men." 1 Tim. i. 19. "holding faith, and a good conscience, which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck." 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course." Heb. xii. 18. "we trust we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly." 1 John iii. 19. "hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him." v. 21. "if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God." Properly speaking, however, a good conscience is not in itself sincerity, but rather an approving judgement of the mind respecting its own actions, formed according to the light which we have received either from nature or from grace whereby we are satisfied of our inward sincerity. Rom. ii 15. "which show the work of the law written in their hearts," &c. This feeling is described Job xiii. 15, &c. "I will maintain mine own ways before him." xxiii. 3, &c. "O that I knew where I might find him—!" xxxi. 6. "let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity." v. 35. "O that one would hear me!" 2 Cor. i. 12. "our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world."

The opposite to this is an evil conscience;[1] that is to say (allowing some latitude of signification to the word) the judgement of each individual mind concerning its own bad action, and its consequent disapproval of them, according to the light enjoyed from nature or grace; which may be more properly called a consciousness of evil. Gen. xlii 21. "we are verily guilty concerning our brother. . . . therefore is this distress come upon us." Hos. x. 8. "they shall say to the

[1] 'I will begin somewhat higher, and speak of punishment; which as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather two degrees only; a reprobate conscience in this life, and hell in the other world.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, II. 490.

mountains, Cover us, and to the hills, Fall on us," compared with Rev. vi. 16. "they said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb." Luke xx. 5, 6. "they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven, he will say, Why then believed ye him not?" Acts xxiv. 25. "as he reasoned of righteousness .. Felix trembled." Rom. ii. 15. "their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." Heb. x. 22. "having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience." John viii. 9. "being convicted by their own conscience" Strictly speaking, however, an evil conscience is one which judges erroneously or with a wrong bias, and not according to the light derived from nature or grace. 1 Cor. viii. 7. "their conscience being weak, is defiled." 1 Tim. iv. 2. "having their conscience seared with a hot iron." Tit. i. 15. "even their mind and conscience is defiled."

Contrary to sincerity are, first, evil thoughts. Matt. v. 28. "he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" xv. 18, 19. "those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart, and they defile the man; for out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders—." Secondly, hypocrisy; the deeds of which, though plausible, are not good, or if good, are not done with a good design. Matt. vi. 1, &c. "take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven." xxiii. 25, 26, "woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess."

Promptitude or alacrity is that which excites us to act with a ready and willing spirit. Psal. i. 2. "whose delight is in the law of Jehovah." xl. 8. "I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart." cx. 3. "thy people shall be willing." Prov. xxi. 15. "it is joy to the just to do judgement." 2 Cor. viii. 12. "if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath—." ix. 7. "God loveth a cheerful giver."

Its opposites are, first, precipitancy. Matt. viii. 19. "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest."

Secondly, a forced and not spontaneous discharge of duty.

Deut. xxviii 47. "because thou servedst not Jehovah thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart." 2 Cor. ix. 7. "not grudgingly, or of necessity." Gal. vi. 9. "let us not be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." 2 Thess. iii. 13. "be not weary in well doing." Heb. v. 11. "ye are dull of hearing." xii. 3. "consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds." v. 12. "lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees." 1 Pet. v. 2. "not by constraint, but willingly."

CONSTANCY is that virtue whereby we persevere in a determination to do right, from which nothing can divert us. Psal. cxix. 44, 45. "I shall keep thy law continually for ever and ever; and I will walk at liberty." v. 51. "the proud have had me greatly in derision, yet have I not declined from thy law." v. 61. "the bands of the wicked have robbed me, but I have not forgotten thy law." v. 95. "the wicked have waited for me to destroy me, but I will consider thy testimonies." v. 110. "the wicked have laid a snare for me, yet I erred not from thy precepts." v. 112. "I have inclined mine heart to perform thy statutes alway, even unto the end." v. 157. "many are my persecutors and mine enemies; yet do I not decline from thy testimonies." Eccles. vii. 14. "in the day of prosperity be joyful; but in the day of adversity consider." Matt. xxiv. 13. "he that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved." 2 Cor. vi. 4, &c. "in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses—." viii. 11. "now therefore perform the doing of it, that as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which ye have."

The opposites of these are, first, inconstancy. Jer. xxxiv. 8, &c. "after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people.... to proclaim liberty unto them.... afterwards they turned and caused the servants and the handmaids whom they had let go free to return" v. 15, 16. "ye were now turned and had done right in my sight.... but ye turned and polluted my name." Luke ix. 62. "no man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." Matt. xiii. 20.—22. "he heareth the word .... yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while;

for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended.... he heareth the word, and the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the word."

Secondly, obstinacy in error, or in a wrong purpose. Psal. xix. 13. "keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me; then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression." Jer. ii. 35. "behold, I will plead with thee, because thou sayest, I have not sinned." Acts vii. 51. "ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost."

CHAP. III.—Of the Virtues belonging to the Worship of God.

Special virtues are those which pertain only to a particular branch of our duty; namely, to our duty towards God, or towards man.

Our duty towards God relates to his immediate worship or service; which is either internal or external.

Internal worship consists mainly in the acknowledgement of the one true God, and in the cultivation of devout affections towards him. Deut. vi. 4. "hear, O Israel; Jehovah our God is one Jehovah;" as in the first book, on God.

Opposed to this is, first, atheism. Psal. xiv. 1. "the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." also liii. 1. See more on this subject in the first book, as above.

Secondly, polytheism, or the acknowledgement of more gods than one, except in the sense authorised by Scripture itself. Gal. iv. 8. "when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods."

Devout affections towards God are love, trust, hope, gratitude, fear, humility, patience, obedience. Deut. x. 12, 13. "what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul; to keep the commandments of Jehovah and his statutes."

The love of God is that by which we prefer him above all other objects of affection, and desire his glory. Deut. vi. 5.

thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thine heart—." See also Matt. xxii. 37.

Desire his glory. Numb. xiv. 15, 16. "then the nations will speak, saying, Because Jehovah was not able to bring this people into the land—." Josh. vii. 9. "what wilt thou do unto thy great name?"

Opposed to this is a hatred of God: John xv. 24. "they have hated both me and my Father;" and a love of the world or of created things. Luke xiv. 33. "whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." 1 Cor. vii. 31. "they that use this world, as not abusing it." Philipp. iii. 7, 8. "what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ; yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win Christ." James iv. 4. "know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God." 1 John ii. 15. "love not the world."

Of faith, in its primary sense, and as the instrumental cause of justification, I have spoken above; I now speak of TRUST in GOD, considered as an effect of love, and as a part of internal worship, whereby we wholly repose on him. 2 Chron. xx. 20. "believe in Jehovah your God, so shall ye be established." Psal. xviii. 2, 3, &c. "Jehovah is my rock and my fortress.... in whom I will trust, my buckler and the horn of my salvation, and my high tower." So also Psal. xxvii. xviii. 7. xxxii. 10. xxxvii. 5. "commit thy way unto Jehovah, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass." So also lxi. lxii. lxxiii. 26. lxxxiv. 12. cxii. 7. cxv. 9, &c. cxxiii. cxxx. Prov. xiv. 26. "in the fear of Jehovah is strong confidence, and his children shall have a place of refuge." xvi. 3 "commit thy works unto Jehovah, and thy thoughts shall be established." See also xviii. 10. xxx. 5. Isai. lix. 1. "behold, Jehovah's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save." Jer. xvii. 7. "blessed is the man that trusteth in Jehovah, and whose hope Jehovah is" Mal. iii. 16—18. "then shall ye return, and discern between the righteous and the wicked," &c.

Opposed to this is, first, distrust of God. Gen. xii. 13. "say, I pray thee, thou art my sister—." xxxii. 7. "then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed." Numb. xiv. 1, &c. "all

the congregation lifted up their voice and cried—." xx. 10, 11. "must we fetch you water out of this rock? ... with his rod he smote the rock twice." 2 Kings vii. 2. "if Jehovah would make windows in heaven, might this thing be?" Isai. vii. 12. "I will not ask, neither will I tempt Jehovah."

Secondly, an overweening presumption. Numb. xiv. 44. "they presumed to go up unto the hill top." xv. 30. "the soul that doeth ought presumptuously ." Prov. xxvii. 1. "boast not thyself of to-morrow—." Amos v. 18. "woe unto you that desire the day of Jehovah." Mic. iii. 11. "the heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon Jehovah, and say, Is not Jehovah among us?" Matt. iii. 7. "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" iv. 6, 7. "thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Rom. ii. 4. "despisest thou the riches of his goodness—?"

Thirdly, carnal reliance. 2 Chron. xvi. 7. "because thou hast relied on the king of Syria—." v. 12. "in his disease he sought not to Jehovah, but to the physicians." Psal xiv. 6. "ye have shamed the counsel of the poor, because Jehovah is his refuge." See also cxviii. 8, 9. cxlvi. 3. "put not your trust in princes." cxlvii. 10. "he delighteth not in the strength of the horse." Prov. xxix. 26. "many seek the ruler's favour." Isai. xxx. 2. "to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh," &c. iii. 1. "the Lord doth take away ... the stay and the staff." xxii. 8. "thou didst look in that day to the armour of the house of the forest." xxxi. 1. "woe to them that go down to Egypt for help—." Jer. xvii. 5. "cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from Jehovah." Amos vi. 13. "ye which rejoice in a thing of nought."

Fourthly, a trust in idols. 2 Kings i. 2. "go, enquire of Baalzebub—." More will be said on this subject hereafter, under the head of idolatry.

Hope is that by which we expect with certainty the fulfilment of God's promises. Job xiii. 15. "though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." Psal. xxxi. 24. "be of good courage, and he shall strengthen your heart, all ye that hope in Jehovah." xxvii. 14. "wait on Jehovah—." cxix. 116. "let me not be ashamed of my hope." Prov. x. 28. "the hope of the righteous shall be gladness." Isai. xl. 31. "they that wait

upon Jehovah shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles." Rom. v. 4, 5. "experience worketh hope; and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts."

Opposed to this virtue, as well as to faith, is doubt; to which even the pious are sometimes liable, at least for a time. 1 Sam. xxvii. 1. "David said in his heart, I shall now perish one day by the hand of Saul." Matt. xiv. 31. "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" xxi. 21. "if ye have faith and doubt not—." Mark. xi. 23. "whosoever shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe—."

Secondly, despair; which takes place only in the reprobate. Gen. iv. 13. "Cain said unto Jehovah, My punishment is greater than I can bear." Matt. xxvii. 5. "he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself." Acts i. 18. "falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst."

GRATITUDE towards God is that whereby we acknowledge his goodness in conferring benefits upon creatures so unworthy as ourselves. Psal. ciii. 2. "forget not all his benefits." cxvi. 12. "what shall I render unto Jehovah—?" 1 Cor. vi. 20. "ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." Heb. xii. 28. "let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear." 1 Pet. ii. 9. "that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness—." 1 John iv. 19. "we love him, because he first loved us."

Opposed to this is, first, ingratitude towards God. Isai. i. 2. "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." Hos. xiii. 6. "according to their pasture, so were they filled; they were filled, and their heart was exalted: therefore have they forgotten me." Rom. i. 21. "when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful."

Secondly, the bestowing on idols, or on created things, that gratitude which we owe to God. Jer. xliv. 17. "to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her . . then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil" Habak. i. 16. "they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag."

The FEAR OF GOD is that whereby we reverence God as the

supreme Father and Judge of all men, and dread offending him above all things. Deut. xxviii. 58. "that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, Jehovah thy God." Psal. ii. 11. "serve Jehovah with fear, and rejoice with trembling." xxxiv. 11. "I will teach you the fear of Jehovah." cxxx. 4. "there is forgiveness with him, that thou mayest be feared." Prov. xix. 23. "the fear of Jehovah tendeth to life." Mal. i. 6. "if I be a father, where is mine honour? if I be a master, where is my fear?" 1 Pet. i. 17. "if ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear." Matt. x. 28. "rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell." Philipp. ii. 12. "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling."

Opposed to this is, first, carnal security. Job v. 3, &c. "I have seen the foolish taking root." xxiv. 23, &c. "though it be given him to be in safety, whereon he resteth—." xxxiv. 22. "there is no darkness, nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves." Psal. x. 5, 6. "thy judgments are far above out of his sight." xxx. 6. "in my prosperity I said, I shall never be moved." lxxiii. 6. "therefore pride compasseth them about as a chain." xciv. 7. "yet they say, Jah shall not see." Eccles. viii. 11. "because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil." Isai. v. 19. "that say, Let him make speed and hasten his work." xxviii. 15. "because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death." xxix. 15. "woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from Jehovah." Ezek. viii. 12. "Jehovah seeth us not, Jehovah hath forsaken the earth." Amos vi. 1. "woe to them that are at ease." Zeph. i. 12. "that say in their hearts, Jehovah will not do good, neither will he do evil." Matt. xxv. "the foolish virgins" Luke xii. 2, 3. "there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed—." v. 19. "I will say to my soul," &c. v. 45. "if that servant say in his heart," &c. 1 Cor. xi. 31. "if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged."

Secondly, a slavish fear. 1 John iv. 18. "there is no fear in love, but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment; he that feareth is not made perfect in love."

Thirdly, a fear of idols 2 Kings xvii. 33. "they feared Jehovah, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations whom they carried away from thence."

And lastly, a fear of anything whatever except God. Matt. x. 28. "fear not them which kill the body."

HUMILITY is that whereby we acknowledge our unworthiness in the sight of God. Gen. xxxii. 10. "I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies," &c. 1 Chron. xxix. 14. "who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee." Psal. li. 17. "the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." cxv. 1. "not unto us, O Jehovah, not unto us, but unto thy name give the praise." Isai. lxvi. 2. "to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." Matt. v. 3. "blessed are the poor in spirit." Luke ix. 48. "he that is least among you all, the same shall be great." 1 Pet. v. 5, 6. "submit yourselves," &c. 1 Tim. i. 15. "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief."

To this is opposed, first, pride towards God. Job xv. 25. "he stretcheth out his hand against God." Prov. iii. 34. "he scorneth the scorners; but he giveth grace unto the lowly." See also James iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5. Prov. xvi. 5. "every one that is proud of heart is an abomination to Jehovah." Acts xii. 23. "the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory." Rev. iii. 17. "thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

Secondly, a false or superstitious humility. Col. ii. 23. "which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body; not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh."

PATIENCE is that whereby we acquiesce in the promises of God, through a confident reliance on his divine providence, power, and goodness, and bear inevitable evils with equanimity, as the dispensation of the supreme Father, and sent for our good. Job i. 22. "in all this Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly." ii. 10. "shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" 2 Sam. xvi. 10. "because Jehovah hath said unto him, Curse David, who shall then say, Wherefore hast thou done so?" Isai. xxviii. 16. "he that believeth shall not mistake." Lam. iii. 29, &c. "he putteth his mouth in the dust, if so be there may be hope; he giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him."

Matt. xvi. 24. "let him take up his cross, and follow me." Luke xxi. 19. "in your patience possess ye your souls." Rom. viii. 25. "if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." xv. 4. "that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope." 2 Cor. xii. 10. "therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake." Coloss. i 11. "unto all long-suffering." 2 Thess. iii. 5. "the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ" Heb. x. 36. "ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God ye might receive the promise." James v. 7, 8. "be patient unto the coming of the Lord; behold the husbandman waiteth—be ye also patient, stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh." 1 Pet. ii. 19, &c. "this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully . if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God: for even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps . who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

Opposed to this is impatience under the divine decrees; a temptation to which the saints themselves are at times liable. 1 Kings xix. 4. "he requested for himself that he might die." Job. iii. 2, &c. "let the day perish wherein I was born." vii. 11. "therefore I will not refrain my mouth." xix. .. "behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard; I cry aloud, but there is no judgment." Eccles. vii. 7. "surely oppression maketh a wise man mad." Jer. xx. 15. "cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying—." xlv. 5. "thou didst say, Woe is me now, for Jehovah hath added grief to my sorrow." Jonah iv. 3. "it is better for me to die than to live."

Obedience is that virtue whereby we propose to ourselves the will of God as the paramount rule of our conduct, and serve him alone. Thus Abraham, Gen. xii. 4. "departed from Canaan, as Jehovah had spoken unto him." xxii. 3. "Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass—." 1 Sam. xv. 22. "hath Jehovah as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of Jehovah? behold, to obey is better than sacrifice." Psal. lxxxi. 13, 14. "O that

my people had hearkened unto me," &c. Eccles. v. 1. "be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools." Jer. vii. 19, 20. "because they have not hearkened unto my words.... your burnt-offerings are not acceptable." vii. 22, 23. "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice." xxxv. 2. "go unto the house of the Rechabites—." Matt. vi. 10. "thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." xxvi. 39. "not as I will, but as thou wilt." v. 42. "thy will be done." John xiv. 15. "if ye love me, keep my commandments." See also v. 21, 23. Acts iv. 19. "whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." v. 29. "we ought to obey God, rather than men." Eph. vi. 6, 7. "as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good will doing service." 1 John ii. 5. "whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected." v. 17. "he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever." v. 3. "this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous."

Opposed to this is disobedience. 1 Sam. xv. 23. "rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry." This was the error of the prophet of Judah, 1 Kings xiii. 22. Prov. xiii. 13. "whoso despiseth the word shall be destroyed." xxviii. 9. "he that turneth away his ear ... even his prayer shall be abomination." Jer. vi. 16. "thus saith Jehovah, Stand ye in the ways . and walk therein but they said, We will not walk therein." v. 17. "they said, We will not hearken." vii. 26. "they hearkened not unto me—." xxii. 21. "this hath been thy manner from thy youth, that thou obeyedst not my voice." xxxvi. 23, &c. "it came to pass that when Jehudi had read three or four leaves," &c. xliv. 16. "as for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of Jehovah, we will not hearken unto thee." Even there it wears the disguise of humility: John xiii. 8. "thou shalt never wash my feet;" or of a righteousness beyond what is commanded: Deut. v. 32. "ye shall not turn aside to the right hand or to the left." See also xxviii. 14. Josh. i. 7. Deut. xii. 32. "thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it." 1 Kings xx. 35. "the man refused to smite him." Prov

xxx. 6. "add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar." 1 Cor. iv. 6. "that ye might learn in us not to think of man above that which is written." Rev. xxii. 18, 19. "if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues—."

CHAP. IV.—Of External Worship.

Thus much of the internal worship of God. We are now to speak of his external worship, which is commonly denominated RELIGION; not that internal worship is not also religion, but that it is not usually called so, except as it manifests itself in outward actions. Although external worship is, for the convenience of definition, distinguished from internal, it is our duty to unite them in practice, nor are they ever separated, except by the impiety of sinners.

True religion is that by which God is worshipped with sincerity after the form and manner which he has himself prescribed. Mic. vi. 6. "wherewith shall I come before Jehovah—?" Worship is expressed in Scripture by the verb λατρεύειν, Matt. iv. 10. and δουλεύειν, vi. 24. Gal. iv. 8. The Papists therefore err in explaining λατρεία, of the worship paid to God, δουλεία of that paid to holy men and angels.[2]

Opposed to this is, first, superstition or will worship (ἐθελοθρησκεία),[3] the offspring of man's invention. Thus Nadab and Abihu offered strange fire before Jehovah, for which they were forthwith punished with death. Levit. x. 1, 2. 1 Sam. xiii. 12. "I forced myself therefore, and offered a burnt offering .... thou hast done foolishly." xv 15, 16. "they have brought them ... to sacrifice unto Jehovah thy God .. stay and I will tell thee what Jehovah hath said to me." 1 Kings xii. 31, 32. "he made an house of high places." 2 Kings xvi. 10. "he saw an altar that was at Damascus," &c. 1 Chron. xv. 13, 15. "Jehovah our God made a breach upon us, for that we sought him not after the due order .. so the children of the Levites bare the ark of God ... according to the word of

[2] See Grotius and Wetstein on Matt. iv. 10. and Leigh's *Critica Sacra* on the words δουλεύω and δουλεία. See also the Homily *Against peril of Idolatry*; Stillingfleet's *Discourse concerning the nature of Idolatry*; Waterland's *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, Works, I. 106

[3] Hammond gives a favourable interpretation to the word, Col . 23.

hovah." Isai. xxix. 13. "their fear toward me is taught by e precept of men." Mark vii. 7, 8. "in vain do they worship , teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Matt. . 3, &c. "why do ye also transgress the commandment of od—?" Gal. vi. 12. "as many as desire to make a fair show the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised." Some of e early teachers of the church are chargeable with this rievous error, in that they, to facilitate the conversion of the eathen to Christianity,[4] retained the pagan rites with a slight

[4] 'He (Constantine) gave and ministered occasion to bring in a deluge ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the heathen by a resemblance of ir rites, or to set a gloss upon the simplicity and plainness of Christian- , which, to the gorgeous solemnities of paganism, and the sense of the orld's children, seemed but a homely and yeomanly religion.' *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, II 382. 'This was that which made e old Christians paganize, while by their scandalous and base conform- g to heathenism they did no more, when they had done their utmost, t bring some pagans to Christianize; for true Christians they neither ere themselves, nor could make others in this fashion.' *Animadversions pon the Remonstrant's Defence. Ibid.* III. 60. For numerous instances of ese corruptions, see the ecclesiastical historians and other authorities. he policy which led to what one of the most eloquent of living writers ppily calls 'paganizing Christianity in order to christen paganism,' has ound its supporters in Mosheim and Gibbon. The former says: 'In these rly times it was both wise and necessary to show in the establishment outward forms of worship, some indulgence to the ancient opinions, anners, and laws of the respective nations to whom the gospel was reached. ... In a word, the external forms of worship used in the times old must necessarily have been regulated and modified according to the haracter, genius, and manners of the different nations on which the light the gospel arose.' *Ecclesiastical History*, I. p 100 'The bishops gmented the number of religious rites in the Christian worship, by way accommodation to the infirmities and prejudices both of Jews and eathens, in order to facilitate thus their conversion to Christianity,' &c. *Ibid.* p. 162. 'After the conversion of the Imperial city, the Christians ill continued in the month of February the annual celebration of the upercalia; to which they ascribed a secret and mysterious influence on the nial powers of the animal and vegetable world.' Gibbon's *Decline and all of the Roman Empire*, chap xxxvi. Barbeyrac (*Traité de la Morale es Peres*, Chap. v. Sect 59, &c) accuses Clemens Alexandrinus of having rmitted the heathen converts to worship the sun, and moon, and other avenly bodies, but the passage alluded to, when candidly considered, ems to admit of a different construction. See *Strom.* Lib VI Cap. xiv. 795, 796, Edit. Oxon. The author of the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus entions the following instance of a concession granted to the Christians the second century. 'Cum animadvertisset (Gregorius) quod ob cor- oreas delectationes et voluptates simplex et imperitum vulgus in simula-

alteration of names or things, to the infinite detriment of religion, and in direct violation of the precept, Deut. xii. 30, 31. "take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them . and thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise: thou shalt not do so unto Jehovah thy God"

Secondly, an hypocritical worship, in which the external forms are duly observed, but without any accompanying affection of the mind,[5] which is a high offence against God. Lev. xxvi. 31. "I will make your cities waste," &c. 1 Sam. iv. 3. "let us fetch the ark of the covenant of Jehovah out of Shiloh unto us." 2 Chron. xii. 9. "so Shishak . . came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of Jehovah." Thus Joash repaired the temple, xxiv. 4—6; as did also Herod, although the enemy of Christ. xxxvi. 7. "Nebuchadnezzar carried off the vessels of the house of Jehovah, and put them in the temple at Babylon." See also Ezra i. 7. Prov. xv. 8. "the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to Jehovah" See also xxi 27. Isai. i. 11 "to what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?" Jer. vii. 4. "trust ye not in lying

crorum cultus errore permaneret. . . permisit eis, ut in memoriam et recordationem sanctorum martyrum sese oblectarent, et in lætitiam effunderentur, quod successu temporis aliquando futurum esset ut sua sponte ad honestiorem et accuratiorem vitæ rationem transirent.' In the sixth century, Gregory the First, Bishop of Rome, even went so far as to rebuke Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, for breaking images placed in churches, stating that he was desirous of conciliating the affections of the people by permitting the use of them, as pieces of history to instruct their minds in the leading facts of Christianity. See Milner's *Church History*, III. 55. Acting on the same principle, he also wrote to Mellitus, a missionary proceeding to Britain, recommending certain concessions to the early converts among our own countrymen, who had been accustomed to propitiate demons, and to indulge in sacrificial feasts. *Ibid.* p 79. Tertullian seems to have formed a better judgment respecting the spirit of Christianity. See the treatise *De Creatione*, where he complains of the unnecessary introduction of additional rites into the church, borrowed from the enemies of the true religion.

[5] This is one of the faults with which Milton reproaches King Charles. He admits the diligence and exactitude with which that monarch performed all the external acts of religion, or, as he terms it, 'the outward work of devotion,' but charges him with insincerity and formality in prayer. 'He who from such a kind of psalmistry, or any other verbal devotion, without the pledge and earnest of suitable deeds, can be persuaded of a zeal and true righteousness in the person, hath much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepest policy of a tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit religious.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, I. 325.

words, saying, The temple of Jehovah . . are these." v. 12. "go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh." See also v. 14. Isai. xxix. 13. "forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me." See also Matt. xv. 8, 9. Isai. xlviii. 1. "hear ye this, O house of Jacob, which are called by the name of Israel." lxvi. 3. "he that killeth an ox," &c. Jer. xviii. 18. "come and let us devise devices against Jeremiah, for the law shall not perish from the priest." Ezek. xxxiii. 30—32. "they sit before thee as my people . . . . but their heart goeth after covetousness." Amos v. 21. "I hate, I despise your feast days." vi. 5. "that chaunt to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David." Mic. vi. 7, &c. "will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? he hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Matt. xii. 44. "he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished." xxi. 30, &c. "he answered, and said, I go, sir; and went not." xxiii. 3. "they say and do not." v. 15. "woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocites—." Luke xi. 40, 42. "ye fools, did not he that made that which is without, make that which is within also?" Philipp. i. 15, 16. "some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife."

The Shechemites (Gen. xxxiv.) were punished with slaughter and destruction for having adopted a new religion inconsiderately, and from secular motives.

On the contrary, internal worship, or the worship of the heart, is accepted of God, even where external forms are not in all respects duly observed.[6] 1 Kings iii. 3. "Solomon loved Jehovah . . . . only he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places." 2 Chron. xxx. 18—20. "a multitude of the people . . . . had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover . . . but Hezekiah prayed for them, saying, The good Jehovah pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, Jehovah God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to

[6] Thus said unanimous, and other rites
Observing none, but adoration pure,
Which God likes best. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 736.

the purification of the sanctuary: and Jehovah hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people." John vii. 14. "now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple and taught."

The parts and circumstances of true religion, or of the worship of God, are next to be considered.

THE PARTS into which RELIGION is divided, are THE INVOCATION OR ADORATION OF GOD, and THE SANCTIFICATION OF HIS NAME IN ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIFE.

Under INVOCATION are included, first, SUPPLICATION and THANKSGIVING; secondly, OATHS and THE CASTING OF LOTS.

SUPPLICATION is that act whereby UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT WE REVERENTLY ASK OF GOD THINGS LAWFUL, EITHER FOR OURSELVES OR OTHERS, THROUGH FAITH IN CHRIST.[7] Psal. l. 15. "call upon me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." lxxxvi. 4, 5. "unto thee, O Jehovah, do I lift up my soul; for thou, Jehovah, art good and ready to forgive, and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee." Matt. vii. 7—10. "ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Philipp. iv. 6. "be careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your request be made known unto God."

THROUGH FAITH. Mark xi. 24. "what things soever ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them." Rom. x. 14. "how then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?" 1 Tim. ii. 8. "without doubting." James i. 6, 7. "let him ask in faith, nothing wavering; for he that wavereth," &c.

IN CHRIST. John xiv. 13, 14. "whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son." xvi. 23. "whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you." Rev. v. 8. "having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints." viii. 3, 4. "there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne: and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God."

[7] Compare Barrow's two Sermons on 1 Thess. v 17. Beveridge's *Great Necessity and Advantage of Public Prayer Books* I. 477

THINGS LAWFUL; and above all, the best things. 1 Kings iii. 11, 12. "because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life, neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, but hast asked for thyself understanding to discern judgement; behold, I have done according to thy words." Matt. vi. 33. "seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. Zech xii. 10. "I will pour upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and of supplications." Rom. viii. 26, 27. "likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought." Eph. vi. 18. "praying always in the Spirit." Jude 20. "praying in the Holy Ghost;" that is, quickening and calling into action, as much as possible, the gift of the Holy Ghost within us.

The Lord's Prayer was intended rather as a model of supplication, than as a form to be repeated verbatim by the apostles, or by Christian churches at the present day.[8] Hence the superfluousness of set forms of worship, seeing that, with Christ for our master, and the Holy Spirit for our assistant in prayer, we can have no need of any human aid in either respect.[9]

[8] 'If the Lord's Prayer had been "the warrant or pattern of set liturgies," as is here affirmed, why was neither that prayer, nor any other set form ever after used, or so much as mentioned by the apostles, much less commended to our use?' *Answer to Eikon Basilike* Prose Works, I. 431. See this answered by Mede, Book I. Discourse I. on Matt. vi. 9.

[9] Conformably with his opinions on this subject, Milton ascribes extemporaneous effusions to our first parents

> Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
> Their orisons, each morning duly paid
> In various style; for neither various style
> Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
> Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd, or sung
> Unmeditated. *Paradise Lost*, V. 144.

'It is not the goodness of matter, therefore, which is not, nor can be, owed to the liturgy, that will bear it out, if the form, which is the essence of it, be fantastic and superstitious, the end sinister, and the imposition violent.' *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence.* Prose Works, III. 59. 'Neither can any true Christian find a reason why liturgy should be at all admitted, a prescription not imposed or practised by those first

REVERENTLY. Reverence comprehends, first, the internal affection of the mind, and secondly, the voice and outward deportment of the body.

Under the former is included, first, that we ask every thing aright, that is to say, to a right end. James iv. 3. "ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts." Secondly, that our supplications proceed from a pure and penitent heart. Hence 2 Sam. xxii. 42. "they looked, but there was none to save; even unto Jehovah, but he answered them not." Psal. lxvi. 18. "if I regard iniquity in my heart, Jehovah will not hear me." Isai. i. 16—18. "wash you, make you clean. . . come now, and let us reason together—." Ezek. viii. 18. "though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them." xx. 30, 31. "are ye polluted, after the manner of your fathers? . . . . and shall I be inquired of by you?" John ix. 31. "God heareth not sinners." Thirdly, that we pray in a spirit of kindness and forgiveness towards our brethren. Matt. v. 24. "leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother—." vi. 12. "forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." See also xviii. 23. the parable of the two debtors. 1 Tim. ii. 8. "I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting." Fourthly, that we seek the Lord early. Prov. i 24—28. "because I have called, and ye refused . . they shall call upon me, but I will not answer." Psal. xxxii. 6. "for this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found." Isai. lv. 6. "seek ye Jehovah, while he may be found" Fifthly, that we pray with all humility. Luke xviii. 9, &c. "standing afar off . . . saying, God be merciful to me a sinner." Sixthly, that we pray earnestly; see the parable of the man who came to borrow bread of his friend, Luke xi. 5. and of the unjust judge, xviii. 2, &c. Lastly, that we persevere in prayer. Coloss. iv. 2. "continue in prayer."

founders of the church, who alone had that authority,' &c. *Answer to Eikon Basilike*, I. 430 Compare also the whole of the chapter entitled 'On the Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book,' from which the last quotation is taken. On the other side of the question see Heylin's *Ecclesia Vindicata*, Bp. Jeremy Taylor's *Apology for authorised and set Forms* Works, Vol. 7. Hammond's *View of the New Directory*.

It is not necessary that our prayers should be always audible; the silent supplication of the mind, whispers, even groans and inarticulate exclamations in private prayer, are available.' Exod. xiv. 15. "Jehovah said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me?" though he was saying nothing with his lips, and only praying inwardly. 1 Sam. i. 13. "now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard." Thus, too, our devotions will be less conspicuous; according to the command, Matt. vi. 6.

Prayer may be offered either alone, or in company. Christ appears seldom to have prayed in conjunction with his disciples, or even in their presence, but either wholly alone, or at some distance from them. It is moreover evident that the precepts, Matt. vi. have reference to private prayer alone. When however he inculcated on his disciples the duty of prayer in general, he gave no specific direction whether they should pray alone, or with others. It is certain that they were in the frequent practice of praying in assemblies; sometimes individually, each framing within himself his own particular petition relative to some subject on which they had agreed in common, Matt. xviii. 19. sometimes by the mouth of one chosen from their number, who spoke in the name of the rest; both which modes of prayer appear to have been used indiscriminately by the primitive Christians. Acts ii. 42. "in breaking of bread and in prayers." iv. 24. "they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said—." xii. 12. "where many were gathered together praying." xvi. 13. "by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made." xx.

[1] .. Sighs now breath'd
Unutterable, which the spirit of prayer
Inspir'd, and wing'd for heav'n with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory. *Paradise Lost*, XI. 5.

.. Now therefore bend thine ear
To supplication, hear his sighs though mute,
Unskilful with what words to pray. *Ibid.* 30.

This will prayer,
Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
Ev'n to the seat of God. *Ibid.* 146.

[1] 'Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with sighs unutterable by any words, much less by a stinted liturgy, dwelling in us makes intercession for us.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, I. 433.

36. "he kneeled down and prayed with them all." xxi. 5. "he kneeled down on the shore and prayed." 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16. "I will pray with the understanding ... how shall he... say Amen at thy giving of thanks?"

Hence the impropriety of offering up public prayer in an unknown tongue, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16, as above, inasmuch as in public prayer consent is necessary.[2] Matt. xviii. 19. "if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them."

Both in private and in public prayer, vain repetitions and empty words are to be avoided. Matt. vi. 7. Eccles. v. 2. "be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God, for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few." Such repetitions, however, as proceed from vehement emotion of mind, are not to be accounted vain.[3] Mark xvi. 39. "again he went away and prayed, and spake the same words."

No particular posture of the body in prayer was enjoined, even under the law.[4] 2 Sam. vii. 18. "then went king David

[2] 'It is his promise also that where two or three gathered together in his name shall agree to ask him anything, it shall be granted, for he is there in the midst of them.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, I. 433.

[3] 'There is a large difference in the repetition of some pathetical ejaculation raised out of the sudden earnestness and vigour of the inflamed soul, (such as was that of Christ in the garden) from the continual rehearsal of our daily orisons; which if a man shall kneel down in a morning, and say over, and presently in another part of the room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one inventory, I cannot see how he will escape the heathenish tautology of multiplying words, which Christ himself, that has the putting up of our prayers, told us would not be acceptable in heaven.' *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence.* III. 55. Compare on this point, and indeed on the whole subject of this chapter, Hammond's *Practical Catechism*, Book iii. Sect. 3.

[4] Adam and Eve are represented in Paradise Lost as praying, sometimes in a standing posture, sometimes kneeling, sometimes prostrate:

> Thus they, in lowliest plight repentant stood,
> Praying. XI. 1.

where all the commentators have mistaken the true import of the phrase.

> .... Since I thought
> By prayer th' offended Deity to appease,
> Kneel'd, and before him humbled all my heart—. *Ibid.* 148.
> .... . They forthwith to the place
> Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
> Before him reverent, and both confess'd
> Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd. X. 1099

in, and sat before Jehovah, and he said—." xii. 16. "he lay all night upon the earth." Psal. xcv. 6. "O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before Jehovah our maker." cxlix. 5. "let them sing aloud upon their beds." 1 Kings viii. 22. "Solomon stood before the altar of Jehovah." v. 54. "he arose from kneeling on his knees." See also 2 Chron. vi. 12, 13, xx. 5. "Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah—." v. 13. "all Judah stood before Jehovah." Dan. vi. 10. "he kneeled upon his knees and prayed." Luke xviii. 13. "the publican standing afar off.

Connected with the posture of the body, is the deportment to be observed in prayer. On this subject St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xi. 4. "every man praying or prophesying having his head covered, dishonoureth his head, but every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head." Why was this? Because at that time covering the head was, with both sexes alike,[5] a token of subjection; on which account it was usual for men to pray or prophesy with their heads uncovered. Now, on the contrary, since the covering the head has become a token of authority, and the uncovering it of submission, it is the custom with most churches, especially those of Europe, in compliance not so much with the letter as with the spirit of the law (which is always to be preferred), to worship God uncovered, as being the mark of reverence prescribed by modern custom; but to prophesy covered, in token of the authority with which the speaker is invested; and likewise to listen to his instructions covered, as the deportment most emblematic, according to modern ideas, of our freedom and maturity as sons of God.[6] On the other hand, it will be easily inferred from hence, that in countries where the cold is intense, as Livonia or Russia, or where custom will not allow the head to be uncovered without great impropriety, as in Asia or Africa.

[5] She *as a veil* down to the slender waist
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
. . . . . .
. . . . . which implied
Subjection. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 304.

See 1 Cor. xi. 15. *her hair is given her for a covering*, where the marginal reading is *for a veil*.

[6] . . . . . Sanctitude severe and pure,
Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd
Paradise Lost, IV. 293.

it is allowable to pray covered; as has been shown by Cappellus in a learned note on this passage,[7] and by other commentators.

With regard to the place of prayer, all are equally suitable.[8] 1 Tim. ii. 8. "I will therefore that men pray every where." For private prayer, a retired place is most proper. Matt. vi. 6. "enter into thy closet," xiv. 23. "he went up into a mountain apart to pray." To offer private prayer in public is hypocritical. Matt. vi. 5. "they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men." It was lawful, however, to offer private prayer in the sanctuary, and afterwards in the temple of Jerusalem, as in the instances of Hannah, David, and others, quoted above. Neither is there any time at which prayer may not be properly offered. Psal. cxix. 55. "I have remembered thy name, O Jehovah, in the night." v. 62. "at midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee." v. 164. "seven times a day do I praise thee, because of thy righteous judgements." Luke xviii. 1. "men ought always to pray, and not to faint." Eph. vi. 18. "praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto—." Col. iv. 12. "always labouring fervently for you in prayers." 1 Thess. v. 17. "pray without ceasing." The seasons most appropriate for prayer, however, are evening, morning, and noon-day. Psal. lv. 17. "evening and morning and at noon will I pray, and cry aloud, and he shall hear my voice." v. 3. "my voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Jehovah: in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee." lxxxviii. 13. "in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee." xcii. 1, 2. "it is a good thing to give thanks unto Jehovah.... to show forth thy

[7] 'Si forte in Livonia, Norvegia, Suedia, Moscovia, &c. hyberno tempore capite adeoque et manibus tectis orant, ratio est manifesta; natura nempe cœli, ob aeris inclementiam, non patitur ut sint tum aperto capite; itaque etsi tum adversus τὸ ῥητὸν hujus canonis forte faciunt, non faciunt tamen adversus ejus mentem, et rationem qua nititur, consuetudinem morum civilem: nam tum apud eos ne supplices quidem caput forte aperire solent, aut inferiores coram superioribus, ob cœli, uti dixi, inclementiam stare.' Lud. Cappelli *Spicilegium* in 1 Cor. xi. 4. Compare however the whole passage, Sect. 1–15.

[8] To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
Paradise Lost, XI. 836

loving-kindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night." cxix. 147. "I prevented the dawning of the morning, and cried." v. 148. "mine eyes prevent the night watches, that I might meditate in thy word." Dan. vi. 10. "he kneeled upon his knees three times a day." Mark i. 35. "in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed." Acts x. 9. "Peter went up on the house-top to pray about the sixth hour."

FOR OURSELVES OR OTHERS; inasmuch as we are commanded not to pray for ourselves only, but for all mankind. 1 Tim. ii. 1—3. "I exhort therefore that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men." Particularly for the universal church and its ministers. Psal. xxviii. 9. "save thy people, and bless thine inheritance." See also iii. 8.[1] li. 18. "do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion." lxxiv. 2, &c. "remember thy congregation." cii. 13. "thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come." cxxii. 6. "pray for the peace of Jerusalem." Matt. ix. 38. "pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest." Eph. vi. 18, 19. "with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit.... for all saints, and for me, that—," &c. Col. iv. 3. "withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ." For all magistrates; especially with a view to the peace of the church. Psal. lxxii. 1. "give the king thy judgements—." Jer. xxix. 7. "seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto Jehovah for it; for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace." 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. "for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Even for our enemies. Matt. v. 44. "pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." Luke xxiii. 34. "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Acts vii. 60. "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Much more for the brethren. Rom. i. 8—10. "without ceasing I make mention of you always

[1] *Super populum tuum sit benedictio tua maxime.* Tremell. The precatory form is not preserved in our authorised translation; *thy blessing be upon thy people.*

in my prayers—." If however there be any whom we know certainly to be past remedy, we are not to pray for them. Jer. vii. 16. "pray not thou for this people—." See also xiv. 11, 12. John xvii. 9. "I pray not for the world." 1 John v. 16. "there is a sin unto death; I do not say that he shall pray for it."

We are even commanded to call down curses publicly on the enemies of God and the church; as also on false brethren, and on such as are guilty of any grievous offence against God, or even against ourselves. The same may be lawfully done in private prayer, after the example of some of the holiest of men. Gen. ix. 25. "cursed be Canaan." Deut. xxvii. 13—26. "these shall stand upon mount Ebal to curse—." Judges v. 23. "curse ye Meroz, said the angel of Jehovah." Psal. v. 10. "destroy thou them, O God." cix. 6, &c. "set thou a wicked man over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand." cxl. 10. "let burning coals fall upon them." Similar imprecations occur in many other Psalms 2 Kings ii. 24. "he cursed them in the name of Jehovah." Jer. xviii. 19, &c. . . "deliver up their children to the famine. . . . for they have digged a pit to take me—." Neh. iv. 4, &c. "give them for a prey in the land of captivity." vi. 14. "think thou upon Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works." xiii. 25. "I contended with them, and cursed them." Acts viii. 20. "thy money perish with thee." Gal. v. 12. "I would they were even cut off that trouble you." 2 Tim. iv. 14. "the Lord reward him according to his works."

It is expressly promised that supplications offered in a spirit of faith and obedience shall be heard. Psal. cxlv. 18. "Jehovah is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth." Isai. lix. 1, 2. "neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear; but. . . . your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear." lxv. 24. "it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer, and while they are yet speaking, I will hear." Dan. ix. 20, &c. "whiles I was speaking and praying . . . even the man Gabriel. . . . touched me," &c. x. 12. "from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand. . thy words were heard." John ix. 31. "if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth."

Hence our knowledge of God's will, or of his providence in

the government of the world, ought not to render us less earnest in deprecating evil and desiring good, but the contrary. Exod. xxxii. 10. "now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them, and I will make of thee a great nation: and Moses besought Jehovah his God, and said—." 1 Chron. xvii. 25, 26. "thou, O my God, hast told thy servant that thou wilt build him an house; therefore thy servant hath found in his heart to pray before thee." John xvii. 1. "Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son." v. 5. "O Father, glorify thou me."

It frequently happens, however, that believers are not heard in all that they ask for themselves or others; namely, when they seek what is contrary to their own good, or to the glory of God. Deut. iii. 25, 26. "I pray thee, let me go over and see, but Jehovah said unto me, Let it suffice thee, speak no more unto me of this matter." 1 Sam. xv. 11. "it grieved Samuel, and he cried unto Jehovah all night." 2 Sam. xii. 16—18. "David besought God for the child—." 1 Kings xix. 4. "he requested for himself that he might die." Ezek. xiv. 14. "though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it," &c. Matt. xx. 22. "ye know not what ye ask." 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. "for this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me; and he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee."

The prayers even of unbelievers sometimes prevail with God, to the obtaining of bodily comforts or worldly advantages; for he is kind to all, and "maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good," Matt. v. 45. Hence he occasionally grants the requests even of devils. Job i. 11, 12. "put forth thine hand now.... and Jehovah said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power" See also ii. 5, 6. Matt. viii. 31, 32. "the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine; and he said unto them, Go." See also Mark v. 10—13.

Sometimes he complies with our prayers in anger; as when the Israelites asked flesh, Num. xi. 18, &c. "ye shall eat flesh, for ye have wept in the ears of Jehovah, saying, &c. ... ye shall eat . until it come out at your nostrils." See also Psal. lxxviii. 30. So likewise when they asked a king, Hos. xiii. 11.[1]

[1] "If God afterward gave or permitted this insurrection of episcopacy

Among errors under the head of prayer may be classed rash imprecations, whereby we invoke God or the devil to destroy any particular person or thing: Rom. xii. 14. "bless and curse not," an intemperance to which even the pious are occasionally liable; Job iii 2, 3. "let the day perish wherein I was born—." Jer. xx. 14. "cursed be the day wherein I was born." Undeserved curses, however, are of no force, and therefore not to be dreaded. Gen. xii. 3. "I will curse him that curseth thee." Numb xxiii. 8. "how shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?" Prov. xxvi. 2. "as the bird by wandering, as the swallow by flying, so the curse causeless shall not come." Psal. cix. 28. "let them curse, but bless thou."

Prayer is assisted by fasting and vows. Matt. ix. 15. "the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast."

A religious fast is that whereby a man abstains, not so much from eating and drinking, as from sin, that he may be enabled to devote himself more closely to prayer, for the obtaining some good, or deprecating some evil. Isai. lviii. 5, 6. "is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day unto Jehovah? is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" Joel ii. 12, 13. "turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and mourning; and rend your heart, and not your garments—." Jonah iii. 6—9. "word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne and he laid his robe from him.. saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything.. . but let them cry mightily unto God, yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands." Zech. vii. 5

it is to be feared he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a king. *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works. I. 460. '—— Monarchiam non nisi sero petentibus, idque ægre, concedere . Quid nostra refert qualem sibi regem Israelitæ voluerint præsertim Deo irato, non solum quod regem vellent ad exemplum gentium., et non suæ legis, sed plane quod vellent regem?' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Symmons' ed V 59. 'Petentibus tamen iis dedit regem Deus quamvis iratus.' *Ibid.* 82.

"when ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, did ye at all fast unto me, even unto me?"

Religious fasts are either private or public.

A private fast is one imposed by an individual on himself or his family, for private reasons. 2 Sam. xii. 16. "David besought God for the child; and David fasted, and went in, and lay all night upon the earth." Psal. xxxv. 13 "as for me, when they were sick, my clothing was sackcloth; I humbled my soul with fasting." Neh. i. 4. "it came to pass when I heard these words that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven." Dan. ix. 3. "I set my face unto the Lord God to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting and sackcloth and ashes." x. 2, 3. "in those days I Daniel was mourning full three weeks; I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all." Luke ii. 37. "she served God with fastings and prayers night and day." 1 Cor. vii. 5. "except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer." To this head belongs the precept, Matt. vi. 16—18. "when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces that they may appear unto men to fast: verily I say unto you, They have their reward: but thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast."

A public fast is that which is proclaimed by the church or civil power for public reasons. Lev. xvi. 29. "this shall be a statute for ever unto you, that in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and do no work at all—." 1 Sam. vii. 6. "they fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against Jehovah." xxxi. 13. "they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days." Ezra viii. 21. "then I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him—." Esther iv. 3, 15, 16. "there was a great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing, and many lay in sackcloth and ashes . . . then Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer. Go, gather together all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night nor day; I also and my maidens will fast likewise."

ix. 31, 32. "to confirm those days of Purim in their time appointed .. the matters of the fastings and their cry." to which allusion is made Zech. vii. 5. viii. 19. Joel ii. 15, 16. "blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast." Acts xiii. 2, 3. "as they ministered to the Lord and fasted—." xiv. 23. "when they had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord"

To fasting were anciently added various inflictions for the mortification of the body, conformably to the customs of those nations. Compare Ezra ix. 3. Jonah iii. 6. and the passages quoted above.

Even outward fasting sometimes averts the anger of God for a season. 1 Kings xxvii. 29. "because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days."

There is also a fasting which works miracles. Matt. xvii. 21. "this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting."

A vow is a promise respecting some lawful matter, solemnly made to God, sometimes with the sanction of an oath, and by which we testify our readiness and hearty resolution to serve God, or the gratitude with which we shall receive the fulfilment of our prayers. Gen. xxviii. 20. "Jacob vowed a vow, saying—." 1 Sam. i. 11. "she vowed a vow, and said—." Psal. cxix. 106. "I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgements." Neh. x. 29. "they entered into a curse and into an oath to walk in God's law."

Vows are general or special.

General vows relate to things which God has commanded, and are either public or private.

A public vow is one which is vowed by the whole church; and is usually called in Scripture a covenant. Josh. xxiv. 22, 23. "ye are witnesses against yourselves, that you have chosen you Jehovah to serve him; and they said, We are witnesses." 2 Chron. xv. 12—14. "they entered into a covenant to seek Jehovah God of their fathers.. and they sware unto Jehovah." Ezra x. 5. "he made the chief priests, the Levites, and all Israel to swear that they should do according to this word."

A private vow is one which is vowed by an individual; as for instance the baptismal vow.

Special vows relate to things lawful, but not expressly commanded; and are undertaken for special reasons. Acts

18. "having shorn his head in Cenchrea; for he had
." xxi. 23. "we have four men which have a vow on
."

e must be careful, however, not to interdict ourselves or
s from those things which God intended for our use, as
or drink; except in cases where the exercise of our
y may be a stumbling-block to any of the brethren.
. xv. 17, 18. "do not ye yet understand that whatso-
entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast
into the draught?" Mark vii. 15, 16. "there is nothing
without a man that entering into him can defile him,"
The reason is given v. 19. "because it entereth not
his heart, but into his belly," &c. Rom. xiv. 14. "I am
aded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of
," v. 17. "for the kingdom of God is not meat and
—." 1 Cor. vi. 13. "meats for the belly, and the belly
meats; but God shall destroy both it and them." viii. 8.
at commendeth us not to God; for neither if we eat, are
he better, neither if we eat not, are we the worse."
s. ii. 20, &c. "if ye be dead with Christ from the rudi-
s of the world, why as though living in the world are ye
ct to ordinances? touch not, taste not, handle not;
h all are to perish with the using—." 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4.
bidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from
, which God hath created to be received with thanks-
g of them which believe and know the truth; for every
ure of God is good, and nothing to be refused." Heb.
9. "not with meats, which have not profited them that
been occupied therein." Acts x. 13. "rise, Peter, kill
eat." v. 15. "what God hath cleansed, that call not thou
mon." The same rule applies to marriage: Matt. xix. 11.
men cannot receive this saying, save them to whom it is
," 1 Cor. vii. 9, "but if they cannot contain, let them
y." v. 26. "I suppose therefore that this is good for the
nt distress." v. 36, 37. "if any man think that he be-
h himself uncomely towards his virgin," &c. 1 Tim. iv.
forbidding to marry;" and to other subjects of a similar
e. 1 Tim. iv. 8. "bodily exercise profiteth little; but
ness is profitable unto all things."

ows of voluntary poverty are also to be accounted super-
us; Prov. xxx. 8. "give me neither poverty nor riches;"

inasmuch as poverty is enumerated among the greatest evils; Deut. xxviii. 48. "in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things." Acts xx. 35. "it is more blessed to give than to receive." Eph. iv. 28. "rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."

No one can make a special vow who is not his own master, and exempt from subjection to any other authority; as a son or a daughter to a parent, a wife to her husband, a male or female servant to their lord. See Num. vi. and xxx. 13. "every vow, and every binding oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void." Neither can a general or special vow be made by one who has not yet arrived at the full use of his judgement. Considering how generally this rule is received among divines, it is strange that they should so far forget their own doctrine, as to require the special vow of baptism from infants.

Any one, who is in these respects qualified, may bind himself by a special vow, when once made, however, he is not at liberty to recal it, but must fulfil it at all hazards. Deut. xxiii. 20. "when thou shalt vow a vow unto Jehovah thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it; for Jehovah thy God will surely require it of thee, and it would be sin in thee." Num. xxx. 2. "if a man vow a vow unto Jehovah .... he shall not break his word, he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth." Eccles. v. 4, 5. "when thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleasure in fools: pay that which thou hast vowed: better it is that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay."

An impious vow, however, is not binding, any more than an unjust oath. Matt. xv. 5. "ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free." Here that which ought to have been applied to the support of the parents, had been vowed as a gift to God, so that either the vow could not be fulfilled, or the support of the parents must be withdrawn. Christ therefore decides that the parents are to be supported, and that the impious vow is of no force.

The opposite of a vow is sacrilege; which consists in the non-performance of a vow, or in the appropriation to private

s of things dedicated to God.[2] Josh. vii. 11. "they have en taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and embled also." Prov. xx. 25. "it is a snare to the man who voureth that which is holy, and after vows to make enquiry." l. iii. 8, &c. "will a man rob God? yet ye have robbed : but ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? in tithes and erings: ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me, en this whole nation." i. 8. "if ye offer the blind for sacri- e, is it not evil?"

Thus far of prayer and its auxiliaries.

Thanksgiving consists in returning thanks with gladness the divine benefits. Job i. 21. "Jehovah gave, and hovah hath taken away; blessed be the name of Jehovah." h. v. 20. "giving thanks always for all things unto God d the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Addresses to God, and particularly thanksgivings, are fre- ently accompanied by singing, and hymns in honour of the ine name.[3] Mark xiv 26. "when they had sung an mn—." Eph v. 19, 20. "speaking to yourselves in psalms d hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always." Col. iii. 16. tenching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns d spiritual songs." James v. 13. "is any merry? let him g psalms."

CHAP. V.—Of Oaths and the Lot.

ANOTHER species of Invocation consists in OATHS, and in THE ASTING OF THE LOT.

AN OATH is that whereby WE CALL GOD TO WITNESS THE UTH OF WHAT WE SAY, WITH A CURSE UPON OURSELVES, THER IMPLIED OR EXPRESSED, SHOULD IT PROVE FALSE. th i. 17. "Jehovah do so to me and more also." See also

[2] Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take
That which to God alone of right belongs.
Paradise Regained, III. 140.

[3] In the hymn of our first parents, when
..... prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
to: says of the angels extolling their Maker,
..... ye behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing. *Paradise Lost*, V. 161.

1 Kings ii. 23, 24 2 Cor. i. 23. "I call God for a record upon my soul." See also Philipp. i. 8.

The lawfulness of oaths is evident from the express commandment, as well as example of God. Deut. vi. 13. "thou shalt fear Jehovah thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name." See also x. 20. Isai. lxv. 16. "he that sweareth in the earth shall swear by the God of truth." Jer. xii. 16. "if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name." Gen. xxii. 16. "by myself have I sworn, saith Jehovah." Exod. vi. 8. "concerning the which I did swear to give it." Deut. xxxii. 40. "I lift up my hand to heaven and say, I live for ever." Psal. xcv. 11. "unto whom I sware in my wrath—." cx. 4. "Jehovah hath sworn, and will not repent." Heb. vi. 13. "because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself."

Agreeable to this is the practice of angels and holy men. Dan. xii. 7. "he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever." Rev. x. 5, 6. "the angel sware by him that liveth for ever and ever." Gen. xiv. 22, 23. "I have lift up mine hand unto Jehovah . . . . that I will not take from a thread," &c. xxxi. 53. "Jacob sware by the fear of his father Isaac;" that is, by God.

It is only in important matters, however, that recourse should be had to the solemnity of an oath. Exod. xx. 7. "thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain." Heb. vi. 16. "men verily swear by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them the end of all strife."

An oath involving a promise is to be observed, even contrary to our interest, provided the promise itself be not unlawful. Josh. ix. 19. "we have sworn unto them by Jehovah God of Israel; now therefore we may not touch them." Judges xxi. 7. "how shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing we have sworn by Jehovah that we will not give them of our daughters to wives?" Psal. xv. 4. "he that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not."

In connexion with this subject, it has been made matter of discussion whether an oath sworn to a robber for the observance of secrecy, or for the payment of a stipulated ransom, is binding.[1] Some answer, that the oath only which relates to

[1] See Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, B. iii. Part 1. Sect. 5. Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, Book iii. Chap. 2. Rule 5. Works, vol. xii. 350—389.

n is to be observed, not that which relates to secrecy; uch as every man is bound by a prior obligation to the agistrate to denounce any known robber, and that this tion is of more force than the subsequent one of secrecy ossibly be. They conclude, therefore, that it is the duty h person to give information to the magistrate, and to er his compulsory oath as annulled by his prior engage- the weaker obligation yielding to the stronger.[5] If er this be just, why does it not apply equally to the oath ting ransom? seeing that it is the positive duty of every man not to support robbers with his substance, and that e can be compelled to do a dishonourable action, even h bound by oath to its performance. This seems to be d in the word *jusjurandum* itself, which is derived from Considering the robber, therefore, as one with whom at while in the act of robbery we can be under no en- ent either of religious obligation, or civil right or private it is clear that no agreement can be lawfully entered ith one thus circumstanced. If then under the influence mpulsion we have sworn to perform any such act as that described, we have only committed a single offence; but m religious scruples we observe an oath extorted under circumstances, the sin is doubled, and instead of giving r to God, and acquitting ourselves of an obligation which ght never to have incurred, we are only entangling our- more deeply in the bonds of iniquity. Hence, if we perform such agreement, it ought not to be imputed to

> . . . . . Thou know'st the magistrates
> And princes of my country came in person,
> Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,
> Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty
> And of religion, press'd how just it was,
> How honourable, how glorious to intrap
> A common enemy, who had destroy'd
> Such numbers of our nation . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . At length that grounded maxim
> So ripe and celebrated in the mouths
> Of wisest men, that to the public good
> Private respects must yield, with grave authority
> Took full possession of me, and prevail'd;
> Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty so enjoin'd.
>
> *Samson Agonistes*, 850.

us as a crime that we deceive one who is himself guilty of deceit or violence towards us, and refuse to ratify an unlawful compact.[6] If therefore, a man has allowed himself to be involved in such an engagement, the point for consideration is, not whether a bond of faith extorted by a robber ought in conscience to be observed, but how he may best effect his escape.

To the fulfilment of oaths is opposed, first, a superstitious denial of their legality. For the precept of Christ, Matt. v. 33, &c. "swear not at all, neither by heaven," &c. does not prohibit us from swearing by the name of God, any more than the passage James v. 12. inasmuch as it was foretold that even under the gospel "every tongue should swear by the God of truth," Isai. xlv. 22, 23. and lxv. 19. We are only commanded not to swear by heaven or by earth, or by Jerusalem, or by the head of any individual. Besides, the prohibition does not apply to serious subjects, but to our daily conversation, in which nothing can occur of such importance as to be worthy the attestation of God. Lastly, Christ's desire was that the conversation and manners of his disciples should bear such a stamp of truth and good faith, that their simple asseveration should be considered as equivalent to the oath of others.

Secondly, perjury; which consists in swearing to what we know to be false with the view of deceiving our neighbour, or in making a lawful promise under the sanction of an oath, without intending to perform it, or at least without actually performing it. Lev. xix. 12. "ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God." Peter was betrayed into this offence, Matt. xxvi. 72, 74.

I have said *our neighbour*, with reference to the question discussed above. For as it would be a crime to make a sworn promise to a robber or assassin, who in committing the act has forfeited his title to the rights of social life, so to observe the oath would not be to repair the original offence, but to incur a second; at any rate, there can be nothing wrong in refusing to ratify the promise. Cases however may occur in

[6] ..... How soon
Would height recall high thoughts, how soon unsay
What feign'd submission swore? ease would recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
Paradise Lost, IV. 94.

hich a contrary decision will be necessary, owing to the de-
ee of solemnity in the form of the oath, or to other accom-
nying circumstances. An instance of this occurs in the
ree kings, Hoshea, Hezekiah, and Zedekiah. 2 Kings xvii. 4.
the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea .. there-
re the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison."
iii. 7. "Jehovah was with Hezekiah, and he prospered whither-
ever he went forth, and he rebelled against the king of
ssyria, and served him not " 2 Chron xxxvi. 13. " Zedekiah
so rebeLed against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made
m swear by God." The fault of Hoshea seems to have been
t so much his rebellion, as his reliance on So king of Egypt.
Hezekiah it was considered meritorious and praiseworthy
at he trusted in the Lord, rather than his enemy. To
dekiah, on the contrary, it was objected, first, that his de-
ction from the enemy was not accompanied by a return to
protection of God, and secondly, that he acted in oppo-
ion to God's special command, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13, and
r. xxvii. 6. " now have I given all these lands into the hand
Nebuchadnezzar." There is, however, this difference be-
een a robber and a national enemy, that with the one the
ws of war are to be observed, whereas the other is excluded
om all rights, whether of war or social life.

Thirdly, common swearing.[1] Lev. v. 4, 5. " if a soul swear,
onouncing with his lips to do evil or to do good, whatsoever
be that a man shall pronounce with an oath, and it be hid
om him when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in
e of these: and it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one
these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in
at thing." To this may be added rash swearing. 1 Sam.
v. 39. " though it be in Jonathan my son, he shall surely
e." v. 44. " God do so and more also, for thou shalt surely
, Jonathan."

Fourthly, unlawful oaths; that is to say, oaths of which the
rport is unlawful, or which are exacted from us by one to
om they cannot be lawfully taken. Of the former kind
s the oath of David respecting the destruction of the house

[1] A law against profane swearing was passed by Milton's party during
commonwealth, inflicting penalties proportioned to the rank in life of
party offending. See Neal's *History of the Puritans.*

of Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv. 22. from which example we may also learn that the breach of such oaths is better than the performance, v. 33, 34. a rule disregarded by Herod, when he beheaded John for his oath's sake. Of the latter David's oath to Shimei is an instance, 2 Sam. xix. 23. "the king sware unto him." Hence, although David himself did not violate his oath, he forbad his son to observe it, 1 Kings ii. 8, 9. "he cursed me with a grievous curse ... and I sware to him.... now therefore hold him not guiltless, for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him." Solomon therefore committed no breach of faith in punishing Shimei with death, of which the latter was doubly deserving, as being himself guilty of perjury: 1 Kings ii. 36, 37. compared with v. 42, &c.

Fifthly, an idolatrous oath; which consists in swearing not by God but by some other object, contrary to the prohibition Matt. v. 33. and James v. 12.

Next in solemnity to an oath is a grave asseveration, as Gen. xlii. 15, 16. "by the life of Pharaoh;" or 1 Sam. i. 26. "as thy soul liveth, my lord;" that is, as surely as thou livest, or as I wish that thou mayest live. Such also is the expression of Christ, "verily, verily, I say unto you;" and that of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 31. νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν, "I protest by your rejoicing;" although, strictly speaking, the particle νὴ has the force of an oath.[8]

To the same head belongs what is called adjuration; that is to say, the charging any one in the name of God, by oath or solemn asseveration, to speak the truth to the best of his knowledge respecting the subject of inquiry. Thus Joshua adjured Achan, vii. 19. "my son, give, I pray thee, glory to Jehovah God of Israel, and make confession unto him." Gen. xxiv. 3. "I will make thee swear by Jehovah, God of heaven." Numb. v. 21. "then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing." Ezra x. 5. "then Ezra made the chief priests to swear," &c. Neh. xiii. 25 "I made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons," &c. 1 Thess. v. 27. "I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read—." There is no impropriety in adjuring even our dearest and most faithful friends. Gen. xlvii. 29. "put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh."

[8] Compare Wetstein's note on this passage

Adjurations are to be complied with, in matters not contrary to religion or equity. Thus Christ, Matt. xxvi. 63, 64. on the adjuration even of the impious high-priest Caiaphas, no longer kept silence, but confessed openly that he was the Christ.

Opposed to this are magical adjurations, and the superstitious or mercenary practice of exorcism. Acts xix. 13, &c. "certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them," &c.

Thus far of oaths. IN THE CASTING OF THE LOT WE APPEAL TO THE DEITY FOR THE EXPLANATION OF DOUBTS, AND THE DECISION OF CONTROVERTED QUESTIONS.[9] Lev. xvi. 8. "Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats." Josh. vii. 14. "it shall be, that the tribe which Jehovah taketh, shall come according to the families thereof." 1 Sam. x. 20. "when Samuel had caused all the tribes of Israel to come near, the tribe of Benjamin was taken." Prov. xvi. 33 "the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of Jehovah." xviii. 18. "the lot causeth contentions to cease, and parteth between the mighty." 1 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14. "they cast lots, as well the small as the great." Neh. x. 34. "we cast the lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people." Luke i. 9. "according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense." Acts i. 24, 26. "they prayed, and said, Thou Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two thou hast chosen .... and the lot fell upon Matthias."

Against the use of the lot it has been urged, that on successive repetitions the result is not invariably the same, and that therefore it must be considered as a matter of chance. This objection is of no force, inasmuch as the Deity, even in his direct verbal communications with the prophets of old, did not uniformly return the same answer, when tempted by importunate inquiries; as in the instance of Balaam, Num. xxii 12, 20. "thou shalt not go with them . rise up and go with them."

To this is opposed the casting of lots in jest, or with a superstitious or fraudulent purpose.

To the invocation or adoration of the Deity are opposed IDOLATRY, and INVOCATION OF ANGELS OR SAINTS.

IDOLATRY CONSISTS IN THE MAKING, WORSHIPPING, OR TRUSTING IN IDOLS, WHETHER CONSIDERED AS REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRUE GOD, OR OF A FALSE ONE. Exod. xx. 4, 5, "thou

[9] According to the practice of the puritanical party in Milton's time—a practice which was also continued to a much later period.

shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them." See also Lev. xxvi. 1. Deut. xvi. 21, 22. "thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of Jehovah . . . neither shalt thou set thee up any image, which Jehovah thy God hateth." xxvii. 15. "cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image." Isai. ii. 8. "their land also is full of idols." xvii. 8. "he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands—." Acts xvii. 16. "his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry." 1 Cor. viii 4. "we know that an idol is nothing in the world." x. 6, 7, 14. "neither be ye idolaters," &c. 2 Cor v. 16. "though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more." Gal. v. 19, 20. "the works of the flesh . . . . are these, adultery . . idolatry, witchcraft . . they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." See also 1 John v. 21. Rev. ix 20. "that they should not worship devils and idols of gold." Idolatry is described, Isai. lvii. 5. "enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree." Jer. vii. 31. "they have built the high places of Tophet." xi. 13. "according to the number of thy cities were thy gods -." xxxii. 29, "they shall burn it with the houses upon whose roofs they have offered incense unto Baal." Ezek. viii. 5, &c. "behold northward at the gate of the altar this image of jealousy—." Hos. iv. 13. "they sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains."

WHETHER OF THE TRUE GOD—. Exod. xxxii. 5. "when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it, and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah;" compare with Psal cvi. 19, 20. "they made a calf in Horeb, . . they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox." Deut. iv. 15, 16. "take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that Jehovah spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire; lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female." It is indeed said Exod xxiv. 10. that Moses and the elders "saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness;" and v. 11. "they saw God." and v. 17. "

ight of the glory of Jehovah was like devouring fire on the op of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel:" but it is clear, from the passage of Deuteronomy quoted above, that they saw the likeness of no living thing whatever. So Ezek. i. 27, 28. "I saw from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward;" where no mention is made of his face. Judges xvii. 4. "the founder made thereof a graven image and a molten image, and they were in the house of Micah;" compared with v. 13. "then said Micah, Now know I that Jehovah will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest." 2 Kings xvii. 28. "then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear Jehovah." Isai. xl. 18. "to whom then will ye liken God, or what likeness will ye compare unto him?" xliv. 10. "who hath formed a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for nothing?" xlvi. 5, 6. "to whom will ye liken me, and make me equal . . . they hire a goldsmith, and he maketh it a god: they fall down, yea, they worship." Jer. ii. 11, &c. "hath a nation changed their gods which are yet no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit." Acts xvii. 29 "forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device" Rom. i. 24, 25. "they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man." Hence to worship the true God under the form of an idol was considered as criminal as to worship devils. 2 Chron. xi. 15. "he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves that he had made;" although Jeroboam doubtless imagined that he was appointing priests to Jehovah, while he was in reality officiating in the rites of those which were not gods.

Or of a false god. Num. xxxiii. 52. "then shall ye destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places." See also Deut. vii. 5, 25. xii. 2, 3. In pursuance of these injunctions, pious rulers in all ages have opposed idolatry;[1] Moses, Asa, 2 Chron.

[1] See the treatise *Of True Religion*, where after describing the twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, claimed by the Roman Catholics, Milton

xiv. 3. xv. 8, &c. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 1—25. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, &c. the whole people, 2 Chron. xxii. and xxi. 1.

The cherubic images over the ark are not to be counted idols; first, as being representations not of false gods, but of the ministering spirits of Jehovah, and consequently not objects of worship; secondly, as being made by the special command of God himself.

Even the brazen serpent, the type of Christ, was commanded to be demolished, as soon as it became an object of religious worship, 2 Kings xviii. 4. "he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made."

Hence the Papists err in calling idols the laymen's books. Their real nature whether considered as books or teachers, appears from Psal. cxv. 5, &c. "they have mouths, but they speak not . they that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them." Isai. xliv. 18. "they have not known or understood, for he hath shut their eyes ." Jer. x. 8, 14, 15. "every man is brutish in his knowledge; every founder is confounded by the graven image; for his molten image is falsehood, and there is no breath in them; they are vanity and the work of errors; in the time of their visitation they shall perish" Habak. ii. 18, 19. "what profiteth the graven image, that the graver thereof hath graven it; the molten image and a teacher of lies, that the maker of his work

proceeds thus. 'Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable to tolerate men thus principled in religion towards the state, I submit it to the consideration of all magistrates, who are best able to provide for their own and the public safety. As for tolerating the exercise of their religion, supposing their state activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that toleration is either public or private, and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders; not privately without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry, though secret. Ezek viii. 7, 8. . . . . Having shown thus, that popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private, it must now be thought how to remove it,' &c. &c. Prose Works, II. 514.

2 'They will not go about to prove their idolatries by the word of God, but turn to shifts and evasions, and frivolous distinctions; idols they say are laymen's books, and a great means to stir up pious thoughts and devotion in the learnedest.' *Ibid* 515. Comber attributes the expression *Books of the Unlearned*, as applied to images and pictures, to Porphyry, and refers to Euseb. *Præpar Evangel.* lib. iii See Rhem. Test on John xxi. 21. and Hey's *Lectures*, Book iv. Art. 22. Sect. 18. note 6.

trusteth therein, to make dumb idols? woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach; behold, it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it."

We are commanded to abstain, not only from idolatrous worship itself, but from all things and persons connected with it. Acts xv. 20. "that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication." v. 29. "from meats offered to idols . . and from fornication." Rev. ii. 14. "who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication." v. 20. "to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols." From a comparison of these passages, it would appear that the fornication here prohibited was a part of idolatrous worship. 1 Cor. viii. 10. "if any man see thee which hast knowledge sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him that is weak be emboldened to eat," &c. x. 14. "flee from idolatry." v. 20, &c. "they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." 2 Cor. vi. 16. "what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" 1 Thess. i. 9. "ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God." 1 Pet. iv. 3. "we walked in lasciviousness . and abominable idolatries." 1 John v. 21. "little children, keep yourselves from idols."

A question here arises, whether it be lawful for a professor of the true religion to be present at idol-worship, in cases where his attendance is necessary for the discharge of some civil duty. The affirmative seems to be established by the example of Naaman the Syrian, 2 Kings v. 17—19. who was permitted, as an additional mark of the divine approbation, to construct for himself a private altar of Israelitish earth, although, as a Gentile, he was uncircumcised.[3] It is however safer and more consistent with the fear of God, to avoid, as far as possible, duties of this kind, even of a civil nature, or to relinquish them altogether.

THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS AND ANGELS is forbidden. Acts x. 26. "stand up; I myself also am a man." xiv. 15. "sirs, why do ye these things? we also are men of like passions

[3] . . That he may dispense with me, or thee,
Present in the temples at idolatrous rites,
For some important cause, thou need'st not doubt.
Samson Agonistes, 1377.

with you—." Col. ii. 18. "let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." Rev. xix. 10. "I fell at his feet to worship him; and he said unto me, See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant." See also xxii. 8, 9. The reason is, that God is kinder and more favourable to us than any saint or angel either is, or has power to be. Psal. lxxiii. 25. "whom have I in heaven beside thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire but thee." Isai. lxiii. 16. "doubtless thou art our father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou O Jehovah, art our father, our redeemer." Further, the charge of absurdity and folly which the prophets uniformly bring against the worshippers of idols, applies equally to those who worship images of saints or angels. Isai. xlvi. 6, 7, &c. "they lavish gold out of the bag, &c . . . and hire a goldsmith they bear him upon the shoulder," &c. See also other passages.

The subterfuges by which the Papists defend the worship of saints and angels, are truly frivolous.[4] They allege Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. "the angel which redeemed me from evil, bless the lads." Jacob here was not praying, but conferring his benediction on the sons of Joseph; no one therefore will contend that the words are to be taken as an invocation, but simply as an expression of hope that God, and the redeeming angel as his minister, should bless the lads. Some indeed contend that the angel here spoken of was not a created being:[5] but whether this be true, or whether it entered into the mind of Jacob or not, involves another and a far more difficult controversy. They urge also Job v. 1. "to which of the saints wilt thou turn!" which however may as properly be understood of living saints, as in James v. 14. "let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him;" where it is not recommended that the dead should be invoked, but that those who are living and present should be entreated to pray for us.

Another opposite to invocation is the tempting of God. Exod. xvii. 7. "they tempted Jehovah, saying, Is Jehovah among us or not?" Psal. lxxviii. 18, 19. "they tempted God

[4] See Middleton's *Prefatory Discourse to the Letter from Rome*, p 268, edit London, 1825. Bp Porteus's *Brief Confutation*, part ii. chap. I.

[5] So Cyril, Junius, Piscator, &c. This question is learnedly and satisfactorily discussed by Allix, *Judgment of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians*, p 349.

in their heart by asking meat for their lust; yea, they spake against God; they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?" v. 41. "they tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel." xciv. 7. "yet they say, Jah shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it." xcv. 7-9. "as in the day of temptation in the wilderness, when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works." Matt. iv. 7. "thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." 1 Cor. x. 22. "do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than he?"

A third consists in the invocation of devils, and the practice of magical arts.[a] Exod. xxii. 18. "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Lev. xix. 26 "neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times." xx. 27. "a man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones, their blood shall be upon them." v. 6. "the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people." xix. 31. "neither seek after wizards, to be defiled with them." Num. xxiii. 23. "surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel." Deut. xviii 10, 12. "there shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard or a necromancer; for all that do these things are an abomination unto Jehovah." 2 Kings xxi. 6. "he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards." Isai viii. 19. "when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and that mutter; should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?" xliv. 25. "I am he that frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners mad." xlvii. 13, 14. "let now the astrologers,

[a] Belief in witchcraft, which is here opposed by Milton, was one of the errors of his age. In 1644, and the two following years, nearly an hundred persons suffered the sentence of the law in the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, for alleged confederacy with evil spirits. The same absurdities continued to be believed long after the Restoration, and numerous victims are on record whose lives were forfeited to the popular superstition.

the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee: behold they shall be as stubble." Jer. x. 2. "be not dismayed at the signs of heaven; for the heathen are dismayed at them." Mic. v. 12. "I will cut off witchcrafts out of thine hand, and thou shalt have no more soothsayers."

All study of the heavenly bodies, however, is not unlawful or unprofitable; as appears from the journey of the wise men, and still more from the star itself, divinely appointed to announce the birth of Christ, Matt. ii. 1, 2.[8]

[7] Thus our Saviour in Paradise Regained, IV 486.

. ..... what they can do as signs
Betok'ning, or ill boding, I contemn
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee:

compared with the words of Satan, v. 379, &c.

Now contrary, if I read aught in heav'n,
Or heav'n write aught of fate, by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
Sorrows and labours, opposition, hate
Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death.

These last words probably allude to the star, mentioned below, by which the birth of Christ, as 'King of the Jews,' was announced to the wise men.

A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
Real or allegoric, I discern not.

[8] It is remarkable that among those who ridiculed the astrologers in Milton's times, was one of his own nephews, John Philips. At the close of the year 1659, he published a pamphlet, entitled 'Montelion, 1660: the Prophetical Almanack; being a true and an exact Accompt of all the Revolutions that are to happen in the World, this present year 1660, till time Twelve moneth. By Montelion, Knight of the Oracle, a Wellwisher to the Mathematicks.' This almanac was so well received, that he continued his plan by a similar publication for the following year, which contained among other articles an 'exact Chronology of memorable things, after the manner of an Almanac, stating how many years it is since each event happened.' Among the entries is the following. It will be remembered that it was to a Skinner that the custody of this treatise was entrusted.

'Since Mr. Skinner spoke discreetly at the Rota. 1 *Year.*'

John Philips subsequently published another burlesque work on the subject, under the title of 'Montelion's Introduction to Astrology, as new, but more Easie Way, shewing the whole Method of that Learned Art. But the most celebrated of the Astrologers of the time were the famous William Lilly and John Booker, who were frequently consulted by Parliament and the generals of the Army, as to the countenance which

CHAP. VI.—Of Zeal.

We have treated of the first part of true religion, the invocation or adoration of the Deity; we proceed to the remaining part, THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE DIVINE NAME UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES.

An ardent desire of hallowing the name of God, together with an indignation against whatever tends to the violation or contempt of religion, is called ZEAL. Psal. lxix. 8, 9. "I am become a stranger unto my brethren. . . . for the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." cxix. 139. "my zeal hath consumed me, because mine enemies have forgotten thy words." Rom. xii. 11. "not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

Examples of this virtue are seen in Lot, 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8. in Moses, Exod. xxxii. 19. in Phinehas, Num. xxv. 7. in Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 10. in Jeremiah, Jer. xxiii. 9—11. "mine heart within me is broken. . . . for the land is full of adulterers;" in Christ, Matt. xii. 30. John ii. 14, &c. in Stephen, Acts vii. 51, &c in Paul and Barnabas, xiv. 14. and xvii. 16, 17.

Its opposites are, first, lukewarmness, as exemplified in Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 29. and iii 13. in the chief rulers of the Jews, John xii. 43. in the Laodiceans, Rev. iii. 15, 16.

Secondly, an ignorant and imprudent zeal. 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 3. "because he slew the Gibeonites . . . Saul sought to slay them in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah." Rom. x. 2. "I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge."

Thirdly, a too fiery zeal. Jonah iv. 1—3. Luke ix. 54. "wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven?"

Fourthly, an hypocritical and boastful zeal, as that of Jehu, 2 Kings x. 16. "come with me, and see my zeal for Jehovah."

The name of God is to be hallowed in word as well as in deed. To hallow it in word, is never to name it but with a

stars portended to their undertakings. Among other prophecies, Lilly was unfortunate enough to foretell a long and prosperous reign to the Protector Richard —of which prediction, less than eight months sufficed to prove the falsity. See Godwin's *Lives of Edward and John Philips*, Chap. vi. p 96.

religious purpose, and to make an open profession of the true faith, whenever it is necessary.

The holy or reverential mention of God is inculcated Exod. xx. 7. "thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain."

To this is opposed an impious or reproachful mention of God, or, as it is commonly called, blasphemy, from the Greek *βλασφημία*, as in the Hebrew בְּרֵיבָה with the root בֵּר, and הֲלִיד with the root קָלַל. This was the crime of the Israelitish woman's son, Levit. xxiv. 11. "who blasphemed (*or* expressly named) the name of Jehovah, and cursed (*or* spake impiously)." v. 14. "bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp." Such also was that of Rabshakeh and the other Assyrians, 2 Kings xix. 6. "be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me;" of the scribes, Mark iii. 22. "they said, He hath Beelzebub," compared with v. 29. "he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost—," for the scribes had said that the deeds of the Father working in Christ were the deeds of Beelzebub; of those whom Paul before his conversion compelled to blaspheme, Acts xxvi. 11. of the Jews at Corinth, xviii. 6. when they "opposed themselves and blasphemed—;" of Paul himself in his unconverted state, 1 Tim. i. 13. "who was before a blasphemer and a persecutor;" of Hymenæus and Alexander, v. 19, 20. "that they may learn not to blaspheme," inasmuch as "having put away a good conscience concerning faith, they had made shipwreck;" of those profane persons mentioned in James ii. 7. "do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?" of the beast, Rev. xiii 5, 6. "there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies," of the followers of the beast, xvi. 11. "they blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores."

Considering, however, that all the Greek writers, sacred as well as profane, use the word *blasphemy* in a general sense, as implying any kind of reproach against any person whatever,[9] which is also the received usage of the corresponding word in Hebrew, Isai. xliii. 28. "I have given Israel to re-

[9] See Suicer in voce *βλασφημία*, and Campbell's Ninth Dissertation, Part ii. Vol. II. 76.

proaches." li. 7. "neither be ye afraid of their revilings;" Ezek. v. 15. "so it shall be a reproach and a taunt," that is, to the Jews; Zeph. ii. 8. "the revilings of the children of Ammon, whereby they have reproached my people;" in all which passages the same word is used, being that which we translate blasphemy: so also Matt. xv. 19. "false witness, blasphemies." (Compare Mark vii. 22.) 1 Tim. vi. 1. "that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." (Compare Tit. ii. 5.) 2 Pet. ii. 10. "they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities" (βλασφημοῦντες Gr.); v. 11. "whereas angels ... bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord" (βλάσφημον κρισιν Gr.): considering, I say, that such is the meaning invariably attached to the Greek word even by the sacred writers, I am of opinion that those who introduced this foreign term into the Latin language, did wrong in restricting it to the single sense of speaking evil of God;[1] especially since, at the same time that they narrowed its meaning in one direction, they expanded it in another to an almost indefinite vagueness; insomuch that, presuming on the general ignorance as to the true signification of the word, they have not scrupled to brand as blasphemy every opinion differing from their own on the subject of God or religion. This is to resemble the scribes, Matt. ix. 3. who when Christ had simply said, v. 2. "thy sins be forgiven thee," immediately "said within themselves, This man blasphemeth;" whereas blasphemy, as is evident from the foregoing examples, consists solely in uttering reproaches against God openly, and with a high hand, Numb. xv. 30 Matt. xv. 19. "out of the heart proceed blasphemies," and that whether against God or men. Thus sin therefore is not to be imputed to those, who in sincerity of heart, and with no contentious purpose, pro-

[1] 'Some are ready to cry out, what shall then be done to blasphemy? Them I would first exhort not thus to terrify and pose the people with a Greek word but to teach them better what it is, being a most usual and common word in that language to signify any slander, any malicious or evil speaking, whether against God or man, or anything to good belonging. Blasphemy, or evil speaking against God maliciously, is far from conscience in religion.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, II. 527. 'Id esse blasphemiam quo tu pacto evincis? nisi a forte theologorum dictatis quibusvis contradicere, nunc primum blasphemia est credenda.' *Auctoris pro se Defensio.* Prose Works, Symmons' ed. V. 285.

mulgate or defend their conscientious persuasions respecting God, founded, as appears to them, on the Scriptures If on the other hand blasphemy is interpreted according to the Hebrew sense, it will comprehend too much; for in this sense every obstinate sinner will be a blasphemer, and as such, according to those who regard the law of Moses on this subject as still in force, punishable with death.[2] Numb. xv. 30. "the soul that doeth ought presumptuously... the same reproacheth (*or* blasphemeth) Jehovah; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people." Ezek. xx. 27, 28. "yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me; for when I had brought them into the land ... then they saw every high hill," &c.

A second opposite is irreverent or jesting mention of the name of God, or of religious subjects.

The most solemn mention of the name of God consists in dedicating to his glory whatever is intended for the use of man. 1 Cor. x. 31. "whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." 1 Tim. iv 4, 5. "nothing is to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." Acts xxvii. 35. "he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all." 1 Cor. vii. 14. "the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife."

Opposed to this are superstitious consecrations, such as are common among the Papists.

Thus far of the solemn and reverential mention of the name of God. We are next to consider the duty of making a consistent, and, when necessary, an open profession of his true worship. This is enjoined Matt. x. 32, 33. "whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." Psal. cxix. 46. "I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed." Luke ix. 26. "whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come—." Rom. x. 10. "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

[2] 'Such as these, indeed, were capitally punished by the law of Moses as the only true heretics, idolaters plain and open deserters of God and his known law.' *Treatise of Civil Power*, &c. II. 529

2 Cor. iv. 13. "it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak." 1 Tim. vi. 12—14. "thou hast professed a good profession before many witnesses; I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandment." 2 Tim. i. 16. "he was not ashamed of my chain." ii. 12. "if we deny him, he also will deny us." 1 Pet. iii. 15. "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." Heb. x. 35. "cast not away therefore your confidence."

This profession, when it leads to death, or imprisonment, or torments, or disgrace, is called MARTYRDOM. Matt. v 11. "blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake." Philipp. i. 20. "with all boldness, as always, so now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life, or by death." v. 29. "for unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake." Heb. xi. 36, &c. "others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment—." 1 Pet. iii. 14. "but and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye."

It is generally through the means of martyrdom that the gospel is more extensively promulgated. Philipp. i. 14. "many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear."

Opposed to this is, first, the concealment of our religion. This was the fault of Nicodemus, John iii. 2. "the same came to Jesus by night." xii. 42. "nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue." Isai. lix. 4. "none calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth."

Secondly, apostasy. 2 Chron. xxviii. 6. "he slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men, because they had forsaken Jehovah God of their fathers." John vi. 66. "from that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him." 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c. "in the latter times some shall depart from the faith," &c. Heb. vi. 4, &c. "it is impossible for those who were

Israelites for a variety of reasons, mostly peculiar to themselves, and which are recorded in different parts of the Mosaic law. First, as a memorial of God's having completed the work of creation on the seventh day. Exod xx. 11. xxxi. 15—17. "wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant .... for in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested and was refreshed." Here, although the reason given for the celebration of the Sabbath applies equally to all other nations, the Israelites alone are enjoined to observe it; as is also the case with the command to abstain from creeping things, Levit. xi. 44. "ye shall therefore sanctify yourselves, and ye shall be holy, for I am holy; neither shall ye defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth," with the law against disfiguring the body, and other similar commands, Deut. xiv. 1, &c. "ye are the children of God," for the reasons on which these precepts are founded apply equally to believers in general, and to all ages, although the precepts themselves are no longer obligatory. This has been remarked by our countryman Ames.[1] 'Non est catholica

[1] Dr William Ames, a Puritan divine in the time of James and Charles the First, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Franeker, a town of the Netherlands, in Friesland. It was partly from the work quoted above, and partly from *The Aoridgement of Christian Diomitie* by Wollebius, that Milton, according to Phillips, compiled for the use of his pupils a system of divinity, which they wrote on Sundays at his dictation. An English translation of Ames's treatise was published by order of the House of Commons in 1642, under the title of *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, drawne out of the Holy Scriptures and the Interpreters thereof, and brought into method*. It is divided into two books, of which the first, entitled On Faith in God, contains forty-one chapters, and the second, On Observance toward God, twenty-two. It is quite evident that Milton has frequently availed himself of this volume, both in the distribution of his subject and arrangement of the chapters, which frequently coincide with that of Ames, and in the citation of particular passages and applications of Scripture, though their opinions differ materially on several important points. The translation is very badly executed, as the version of the passage quoted in the text will show. "That rule therefore of interpreting the Scriptures which is wont to be delivered by some, is not universally true: that all those duties [are] morall and immutable, which have morall and immutable reasons joyned to them except it be thus understood, that those duties doe follow upon those reasons no special commaund coming betweene." Milton quotes in his Tetrachordon the definition of marriage given by Ames, and passes a just censure on it. See Prose Works, III. 343. The Treatise of Wollebius is also divided into

ritatis illa regula interpretandi scripturas quæ tradi solet quibusdam, officia illa omnia esse moralia et immutabilia quæ rationes morales et immutabiles habent sibi annexas; si sic intelligatur ut illa officia sequantur ex illis rationibus, nullo singulari Dei præcepto intercedente.' Ames *Medull. Theol.* lib. ii. c. 13. This, however, cannot be said either of the precepts above-mentioned, or of the Sabbath.

Secondly, because God was pleased by this distinguishing mark to separate the Israelites from other nations. Exod. xxxi. 13, &c. "it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am Jehovah that doth sanctify you; ye shall keep the sabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you." Ezek. xx. 12. "to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am Jehovah that sanctify them." See also v. 20.

Thirdly, that the slaves and cattle might enjoy a respite from labour. Exod. xxiii 12. "that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thine handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed." Deut. v. 12, 14. "keep the sabbath-day ... that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou." This reason applies only where servants are in a state of slavery, and subject to severe labour; the condition of hired servants, who are now generally employed, being much easier than that of purchased slaves in old time.

Fourthly, in remembrance of their liberation from Egypt. Deut. v. 15. "remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm; therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day."

Fifthly, as a shadow or type of things to come. Col. ii. 16, 17. "in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or

two parts, On the Knowledge and on the Worship of God, the first comprised in thirty-six, and the second in fourteen chapters. The plan of the latter division is very similar to the corresponding portion of Milton's work; and not only the arguments, but even whole sentences are sometimes almost identically the same. Besides Ames and Wollebius, the following, among the writers who published general systems of divinity between the Reformation and the time of Milton, appear certainly to have been known to him Calvin (*Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, first published in 1536, and an enlarged edition in the following year); Episcopius (*Institutio*, &c contained in the first volume of his *Opera Theologica*, Amstel 1650,); Beza (*Confessio Christianæ Fidei*, 1560,); Polanus (*Syntagma Theologiæ Christianæ*, Han. 1609). An abridgement of Theology will also be found in the first volume of Placæus's Works.

of the sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come: but the body is of Christ." Of what things to come the sabbaths are a shadow, we are taught Heb. iv. 9, 10 namely, of that sabbatical rest or eternal peace in heaven, of which all believers are commanded to strive to be partakers through faith and obedience, following the example of Christ.

Works of charity and mercy were not forbidden on the Sabbath, upon the authority of Christ himself. Mark ii. 27. "the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath." iii. 4. "is it lawful to do good on the sabbath-days, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill?" Luke xiii. 15, 16. "doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox—? ... ought not this woman to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath-day?" xiv. 5. "which of you shall have an ox or an ass fallen into a pit," &c. John vii. 23. "are ye angry at me because I have made a man every whit whole on the sabbath-day?" Even for a man to take up his bed, v. 11. although consonant to the spirit of the law, was contrary to its letter, Jer. xvii. 21, 22.

Since then the Sabbath was originally an ordinance of the Mosaic law, imposed on the Israelites alone, and that for the express purpose of distinguishing them from other nations, it follows that, if (as was shewn in the former book) those who live under the gospel are emancipated from the ordinances of the law in general, least of all can they be considered as bound by that of the Sabbath, the distinction being abolished which was the special cause of its institution.[2] It was for asserting this in precept, and enforcing it by example, that Christ incurred the heavy censure of the Pharisees, John ix. 16. "this man is not of God, because he keepeth not the sabbath-day." Gal. iv. 9, 10. "how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? ye observe days, and months, and times, and years." Col. ii. 16, 17. "let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days. If it be contended, that it is only the septennial, and not the seventh day sabbath which is said by St. Paul to be

[2] See Book I. Chap. xxvii and the note in p. 387. To what is there said may be added the following passage from *A brief History of Muscovia*, chap. i. Milton is speaking of the Russian church. 'They hold the ten commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the law, which Christ by his death on the cross hath abrogated.

abrogated, I reply, first, that no exception is here made; and, secondly, that it may as well be contended that baptism is not meant, Heb vi. 2. on account of the plural noun *baptisms*. Besides, it is certain that the words *sabbath* and *sabbaths* are used indiscriminately of the seventh day; Exod. xxxi. 13, 14. Isai. lvi. 2, 4, 6. Whoever therefore denies that under the words of the apostle, "in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days," the Sabbath of the fourth commandment is comprehended, may as well deny that it is spoken of 2 Chron. ii 4. or viii. 13 or xxxi. 3. from which passages the words of St. Paul seem to be taken.

The law of the Sabbath being thus repealed, that no particular day of worship has been appointed in its place, is evident from the same apostle, Rom. xiv. 5. "one man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike: let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." For since, as was observed above, no particular place is designated under the gospel for the public worship of God, there seems no reason why time, the other circumstance of worship, should be more defined. If Paul had not intended to intimate the abolition of all sabbaths whatever, and of all sanctification of one day above another, he would not have added in the following verse, "he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it."[3] For how does he *not regard the day to the Lord*, if there be any commandment still in force by which a particular day, whether the Sabbath or any other, is to be observed?

It remains to be seen on what they ground their opinion, who maintain that the Lord's day is to be observed as set apart for public worship by divine institution, in the nature of a new sabbath. It is urged, first, that God rested on the seventh day. This is true; and with reason, inasmuch as he had finished a great work, the creation of heaven and earth; if then we are bound to imitate him in his rest, without any command to that effect, (and none has yet been produced,) we are equally bound to imitate his work, according to the fable of Prometheus of old;[4] for rest implies previous labour.

[3] 'What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of those ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to the cross? What great purchase is this Christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord.' *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.* Prose Works, II. 97.

[4] 'It would be helpful to us if we might borrow such authority as the

They rejoin, that God hallowed that day. Doubtless he hallowed it, as touching himself, for "on the seventh day he rested and was refreshed," Exod. xxxi. 17. but not as touching us, unless he had added an express commandment to that effect; for it is by the precepts, not by the example, even of God himself that we are bound.[6] They affirm again, that the Sabbath was observed previously to the Mosaic law. This is asserted with more confidence than probability, even if it were so, however, (a point as to which we are altogether ignorant) it is equally certain that sacrificial rites, and distinctions between things clean and unclean, and other similar observances, were in force during the same period, which nevertheless are not classed among moral duties.

They urge, however, that the celebration of the Sabbath was subsequently ordained by the fourth commandment. This is true, as regards the seventh day; but how does this apply to the first day? If, on the plea of a divine command, they impose upon us the observance of a particular day, how do they presume, without the authority of a divine command, to substitute another day in its place? or in other words to pronounce, that not merely the seventh day, which was appointed for the observation of the Israelites alone, but any one of the seven may, even on the authority of the fourth commandment itself, be kept holy; and that this is to be accounted an article of moral duty among all nations.

In the first place, I do not see how this assertion can be established, for it is impossible to extort such a sense from the words of the commandment; seeing that the reason for which the command itself was originally given, namely, as a memorial of God's having rested from the creation of the world, cannot be transferred from the seventh day to the first, nor can any new motive be substituted in its place, whether the resurrection of our Lord or any other, without

rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean skill to shape and fashion this outward man into the similitude of a body.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, II. 491 'Malui abs te decerpta transcribere, quæ tu Aristoteli, ut ignem Jovi Prometheus, ad eversionem monarcharum, et perniciem ipsius tuam, surripuisti.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Prose Works, Symmons' ed V 115.

[6] 'They might [illegible] know, or to remember, that not examples, but ex[illegible] commands [illegible] our obedience to God or man.' *The likeliest [illegible] Hire[illegible]ngs*, &c. III. 9.

the sanction of a divine commandment. Since then it is evident from more than one passage of Scripture, that the original Sabbath is abrogated, and since we are nowhere told that it has been transferred from one day to another, nor is any reason given why it should be so transferred, the church, when she sanctioned a change in this matter, evinced, not her obedience to God's command (inasmuch as the command existed no longer) but her own rightful liberty; for in any other view it can only be termed folly. To make any change whatever in a commandment of God, whether we believe that commandment to be still in force or not, is equally dangerous, and equally reprehensible; inasmuch as in so doing we are either annulling what is not yet repealed, or re-enacting what is obsolete. It ought also to be shewn what essential principle of morality is involved in the number seven; and why, when released from the obligation of the Sabbath, we should still be bound to respect a particular number possessing no inherent virtue or efficacy. The only moral sabbatical rest which remains for us under the gospel, is spiritual and eternal, pertaining to another life rather than the present. Heb. iv. 9—11. "there remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God, for he that hath entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his, let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief." If then the commandment of the Sabbath was given to those alone whom God had *brought out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage*, it is evidently inapplicable to us as Christians; or if, as is contended, it is applicable to us inasmuch as we have been brought out of the slavery of a spiritual Egypt, the Sabbath ought to be such as the deliverance, spiritual and evangelical, not bodily and legal; above all, it ought to be a voluntary, not a constrained observance,[6] lest we should be merely substituting one Egyptian bondage for another;[7] for the Spirit

[6] 'God delights not to make a drudge of virtue, whose actions must be all elective and unconstrained.' *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* Prose Works, III. 261.

[7] 'What would ye say now, grave fathers, if you should wake and see unworthy bishops, or rather no bishops, but Egyptian task-masters of ceremonies, thrust purposely upon the groaning church, to the affliction and vexation of God's people?' *Of Reformation in England*, II. 376. '—— when God comes to visit upon you all this fourscore years' vexation of his church under your Egyptian tyranny?' *Reason of Church Government*

cannot be forced. To contend therefore that what, under the new dispensation, ought to be our daily employment, has been enjoined as the business of the Sabbath exclusively, is to disparage the gospel worship, and to frustrate rather than enforce the commandments of God.

It is urged, however, that the church relies on the fourth commandment as its perpetual authority for the observance of public worship. That public worship is commended, and inculcated as a voluntary duty, even under the gospel, I allow; but that it is a matter of compulsory enactment, binding on believers from the authority of this commandment, or of any Sinaitical precept whatever, I deny. With regard to the doctrine of those who consider the decalogue as a code of universal morality, I am at a loss to understand how such an opinion should ever have prevailed; these commandments being evidently nothing more than a summary of the whole Mosaic law, as the fourth in particular is of the whole ceremonial law; which therefore can contain nothing applicable to the gospel worship.

Whether the festival of *the Lord's day* (an expression which occurs only once in Scripture, Rev. i. 10.) was weekly or annual, cannot be pronounced with certainty, inasmuch as there is not (as in the case of the Lord's Supper) any account of its institution, or command for its celebration, to be found in Scripture. If it was the day of his resurrection, why, we may ask, should this be considered as the Lord's day in any higher sense than that of his birth, or death, or ascension? why should it be held in higher consideration than the day of the descent of the Holy Spirit? and why should the celebration of the one recur weekly, whereas the commemoration of the others is not necessarily even annual, but remains at the discretion of each believer?

Neither can the circumstance of Christ's having appeared twice to his disciples on this day (if indeed the words *after eight days*, John xx. 26. are rightly interpreted the eighth day after) be safely adduced in proof of the divine institution of a new sabbath; inasmuch as there can be no doubt that he appeared on other days also, Luke xxiv. 36. and John xxi.

ibid. 468 'Populus universus, libera nimirum gens,..... a servitute, regum Ægyptiorum ideo liberatus, ut uni ex fratribus suis, durore si libeat servitute, opprimendus traderetur.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Prose Works, Symmons' ed. V. 66.

3, 4. "Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing," which was not lawful on the Sabbath; so that the day following, on the morning of which Christ appeared, could not have been the first day of the week. Even supposing, however, that it had been so, still the assigning this as a reason for the institution of a new sabbath is matter solely of human inference; since no commandment on this subject, nor any reason for such institution, is found in all Scripture.

From commandments, of which we have proved the non-existence, we pass to examples; although no example can weaken the force of a contrary precept. We shall proceed, however, to prove, that what are adduced as examples are not such in reality. First then, with regard to Acts xx. 7. where it is related that the disciples dwelling at Troas "came together to break brea upon the first day of the week," who shall determine with certainty whether this was a periodical meeting, or only held occasionally, and of their own accord; whether it was a religious festival, or a fraternal meal; whether a special assembly convoked on that particular day, or a daily meeting like those recorded in chap. ii. 42. compared with v. 46; lastly, whether this meeting was held by order of the apostles, or whether it was merely permitted by them in compliance with the popular custom, according to their frequent practice on other occasions?

The inference deduced from 1 Cor. xvi. 2. is equally unsatisfactory; for what the apostle is here enjoining, is not the celebration of the Lord's day, but that on the *first day of the week* (if this be the true interpretation of *κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, per unam sabbathorum*) each should *lay by him* (that is, at home) for the relief of the poor; no mention being made of any public assembly, or of any collection at such assembly, on that day. He was perhaps led to select the first day of the week, from the idea that our alms ought to be set aside as a kind of first-fruits to God, previous to satisfying other demands; or because the first day of the week was most convenient for the arrangement of the family accounts. Granting, however, that the Corinthians were accustomed to assemble on that day for religious purposes, it no more follows that we are bound to keep it holy in conformity with their practice, without a divine command to that effect, than that we are bound to observe the Jewish sabbath in con-

formity with the practice of the Philippians, or of Paul himself, Acts xvi. 13. "on the sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made." xvii. 2. "Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the scripture." xviii. 3, 4. "he abode with them and wrought . . . and he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath;" following his own occupation at home, as we have reason to believe, during the six remaining days.

Those therefore, who on the authority of an expression occurring only once in Scripture, keep holy a sabbath-day, for the consecration of which no divine command can be alleged, ought to consider the dangerous tendency of such an example, and the consequences with which it is likely to be followed in the interpretation of Scripture.

Hence we arrive at the following conclusions; first, that under the gospel no one day is appointed for divine worship in preference to another, except such as the church may set apart of its own authority for the voluntary assembling of its members, wherein, relinquishing all worldly affairs, we may dedicate ourselves wholly to religious services, so far as is consistent with the duties of charity; and, secondly, that this may conveniently take place once every seven days, and particularly on the first day of the week,[9] provided always that it be observed in compliance with the authority of the church, and not in obedience to the edicts of the magistrate; and likewise that a snare be not laid for the conscience by the allegation of a divine commandment, borrowed from the decalogue; an error against which St. Paul diligently cautions us, Col. ii. 16. "let no man therefore judge you," &c. For if we under the gospel are to regulate the time of our public worship by the prescriptions of the decalogue, it will surely be far safer to observe the seventh day, according to the express commandment of God, than on the authority of mere human conjecture to adopt the first. I perceive also that several of the best divines, as BUCER, CALVIN, PETER MARTYR, MUSCULUS, URSINUS, GOMARUS, and others, concur in the opinions above expressed.[9]

[9] "As therefore the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient recourse of worship in fit season, whether seventh or other number—." *The Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.* Prose Works, III. 18

[9] Several of these divines are elsewhere mentioned by Milton in terms

of commendation. 'Bucer (whom our famous Dr Raynolds was wont to prefer before Calvin) in his comment on Matthew, and in his second book of the kingdom of Christ .... This book he wrote here in England, where he lived the greatest admired man' *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, III. 427 See also the address to the Parliament, prefixed to the Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce, *Ibid.* 278—287. Peter Martyr is twice quoted with reference to the same subjects. *Ibid* 277,428 Musculus is also called 'a divine of no meane fame.' *Ibid.* 428. In proof of Milton's assertion that these divines agree with him on the subject of the sabbath, the following passages may be cited from their respective works. 'Sic de sabbatho. Quod septimo die, illa quæ a Judæis observatur numeratione, ab omni opere servili vacandum erat, præceptum legis externum fuit, solis Judæis, quibus datum exstitit, observandum, &c.. Hæc ergo ad nos pertinent, illa Judæis recte renunciantur.' BUCER *in sacra quatuor Evangelia Enarrat Perpet.* ad Matt x. 9. 'Cæterum non dubium quin Domini Christi adventu, quod cæremoniale hoc [in sabbatho] erat, abolitum fuerit. Ipse enim veritas est, cujus præsentia figuræ omnes evanescunt .. Ideo sublatam umbram fuisse rei futuræ alibi scribit apostolus, corpus exstare in Christo, hoc est, solidam veritatis substantiam, quam illo loco bene explicavit. Ea non uno die contenta est, sed toto vitæ nostræ cursu, donec penitus nobismetipsis mortuis, Dei vita impleatur. A Christianis ergo abesse debet superstitiosa dierum observatio,' &c &c. CALVIN *Institt. Christian.* cap viii. Sect 31. See also *Comment in quinque libros Mosis*, nearly at the end of the preface to the remarks on the Mosaic law Deinde quod locum Pauli Heb. iii. et iv. concernit, notandum est illud *hodie* non esse alligandum septimo diei, sed exigere a nobis perpetuam obedientiam verbo Dei præstandam. Est enim nobis perpetuus sabbathismus, quo coram Deo in spiritu comparentes, majestatem illius celebramus, cum adoratione invocamus, ac vocem illius audimus; verum hic sensus et modus iste mystici sabbathismi non excludit ecclesiasticorum conventuum usum, sicut hodie fanatici quidam homines somniant, ac seipsos una cum aliis ab ecclesiæ conventibus abducunt.' MUSCULUS, *Comment. in Psalm* xcv. 8 'Cum igitur sabbathum septimam diei typus fuerit, admonens populum et de suo officio, sive de pietate erga Deum, et de beneficio Dei erga populum per Christum præstando, una cum aliis cæremoniis, adventu Christi, per quem est impletum quod illa significabant, abrogatum est. Quod etiam Paulus testatur Col. ii.' &c &c URSINUS, *Tractat Theolog. in Expositione Quarti Præcepti.* 'Christiani respondent Judæis sabbathum abrogatum ratione cæremoniæ et geminæ circumstantiæ, &c .., deinde observatione septimi illius diei delimiti Quo modo appendix erat legis moralis, ad populum Judaicum solum pertinens.' GOMARUS, *Oper. Theolog. in Explicatione Ep ad Colossenses*, cap ii. PETER MARTYR, however, seems to hold a different opinion. 'Qui autem robustiori fide erant prædit, illi omnes dies perinde habuerunt. Dominicam tamen diem excipimus, pertinet enim ad decalogum, ut ex hebdomada integra unus dies divino cultui consecretur,' &c. *Comment. in Ep. ad Romanos*, cap. xiv.

CHAP. VIII.—Of Our Duties towards Men: and the general Virtues belonging thereto.

Hitherto we have treated of the virtues comprehended in our DUTY TOWARDS GOD; we are next to speak of those which belong to our DUTY TOWARDS MEN; although even in these we may be considered as serving God, so long as they are done in obedience to the divine command. Matt. vii. 12. "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Col. iii. 23. "whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men." James i. 26, 27. "if any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain: pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." 1 John iv. 20. "if a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

Inasmuch therefore as God is best served by internal worship, whereas man stands more in need of outward attention, the external service even of God is sometimes to be postponed to our duties towards men. Prov. xxi. 3. "to do justice and judgement is more acceptable to Jehovah than sacrifice." Jer. vii. 4, 5. "trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of Jehovah, the temple of Jehovah, the temple of Jehovah are these: for if ye throughly amend your ways and your doings—." Matt. xii. 1, &c. "Jesus went on the sabbath day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungred—." v. 7. "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." xv. 5. "ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free." See also Mark vii. 11, 12. and ii. 27. "the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath."

The virtues connected with our duty towards man, are partly those which each individual owes to himself, and partly those which we owe to our neighbours. Lev. xix. 18. "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." See also Matt. xix. 19.

These virtues, like those relating to God, are either general or special.

The general virtues are LOVE and RIGHTEOUSNESS. In the first book I treated of love generally, and in its wider sense as identified with holiness; I now proceed to define it more particularly, with reference to its object, as follows. LOVE IS A GENERAL VIRTUE, INFUSED INTO BELIEVERS BY GOD THE FATHER IN CHRIST THROUGH THE SPIRIT, AND COMPREHENDING THE WHOLE DUTY OF LOVE WHICH EACH INDIVIDUAL OWES TO HIMSELF AND HIS NEIGHBOUR. It is nowhere more fully described than in the whole thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, to which we shall have frequently to refer. Compare also 1 John iii. 18, 19. "my little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth: and hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him."

BY GOD, &c. 1 John iii. 10. "in this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness . . . neither he that loveth not his brother." iv. 7. "love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God." Gal. v. 22. "the fruit of the Spirit is love."

INTO BELIEVERS. Gal. v. 6. "faith that worketh by love."

The opposite of this is uncharitableness; which renders all our other qualities and actions, however excellent in appearance, of no account. 1 Cor. xiii. 1, &c. "though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal."

The other general virtue belonging to the regenerate is RIGHTEOUSNESS, whereby we render to each his due, whether to ourselves, or to our neighbour. Prov. xvi. 8. "better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right." Isai. lxi. 8. "I Jehovah love judgement; I hate robbery for burnt offering." Matt. vii. 12. "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Rom. xiii. 7. "render therefore to all their dues."

Belonging to the regenerate. 1 John iii. 10. "in this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God." Hence under righteousness is frequently included the observance of the whole law.

Opposed to this is, first, unrighteousness, which excludes from the kingdom of heaven. 1 Cor. vi. 9. "know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?" Jer. xvii. 11. "as the partridge sitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not, so he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool."

Secondly, a pharisaical righteousness. Matt. v. 20. "except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Both these general virtues, as has been stated above, are exercised partly towards ourselves, and partly towards our neighbour.

The love of man towards himself consists in loving himself next to God, and in seeking his own temporal and eternal good. Prov. xi. 17. "the merciful man doeth good to his own soul, but he that is cruel troubleth his own flesh." xix. 8. "he that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul." Eph v. 29. "no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it." Philipp. ii 12. "work out your own salvation." 1 Tim. v. 23. "drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities."

Opposed to this is, first, a perverse hatred of self.[1] Eph. v. 29. as above. In this class are to be reckoned those who lay violent hands on themselves, (who nevertheless are not excluded from decent burial, 2 Sam xvii. 23.) and all who are guilty of presumptuous sin. Prov. viii. 36. "he that

[1] Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite;
But act not in thy own affliction, son,
Repent the sin; but if the punishment
Thou canst avoid, self preservation bids:
Or th' execution leave to high disposal,
And let another hand, not thine, exact
Thy penal forfeit from thyself: perhaps
God will relent, and quit thee all his debt;
Who ever more approves, and more accepts,
(Best pleas'd with humble and filial submission)
Him who, imploring mercy, sues for life,
Than who, self rigorous, chooses death as due;
Which argues over just, and self displeas'd
For self-offence, more than for God offended.

Samson Agonistes, 502.

sinneth against me hateth his own soul; all they that hate me love death." xxix. 24. "whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul."

Secondly, an extravagant self-love, whereby a man loves himself more than God, or despises his neighbour in comparison of himself. In allusion to the former species of self love Christ says, John xii. 25. "he that loveth his life shall lose it." Respecting the latter, see 2 Tim. iii. 2, &c. "men shall be lovers of themselves—." On the contrary, those are commended, Rev. xii. 11. "who loved not their lives unto the death." Matt x. 39. "he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." See also Mark. viii. 35, &c. Matt. xvi. 23. "he said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men."

Righteousness towards ourselves consists in a proper method of self government. 1 Cor ix. 27. "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection." From this, as from a fountain, the special virtues in general derive their origin; inasmuch as under the head of righteousness towards ourselves are included, first, the entire regulation of the internal affections; secondly, the discriminating pursuit of external good, and the resistance to, or patient endurance of, external evil

The regulation of the affections. Prov. xxv. 28 "he that hath no rule over his own spirit is like a city that is broken down and hath no walls." Gal. v. 16, 17. "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." v. 24. "they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts" Col. iii. 5. "mortify therefore your members that are upon the earth." Thess. iv. 4, 5. "that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour." James i. 14, 15 "every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed." 1 Pet. iv. 2. "that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God."

The affections are love, hatred; joy, sorrow; hope, fear; and anger.

Love is to be so regulated, that our highest affections may be placed on the objects most worthy of them; in like manner, hatred is to be proportioned to the intrinsic hatefulness of the

object. Gen. vi. 2. "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them—." 1 Sam. xvi. 7, 8. "look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature." Esth. ii. 15. "Esther obtained favour in the sight of all them that looked upon her." Prov. vi. 25. "lust not after her beauty in thy heart." x. 22. "as a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion." Rom. xii. 9. "abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good." 1 Cor. x. 6. "we should not lust after evil things."

Our joy ought to be so regulated, that we may delight in things essentially good in proportion to their excellence, and in things indifferent so far only as is consistent with reason. The same rule is to be observed with regard to sorrow. Deut. xii. 7. "there shall ye eat before Jehovah your God, and ye shall rejoice—." See also v. 12, 18. xxvi. 11. "thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which Jehovah thy God hath given unto thee." Job xxii. 19. "the righteous see it, and are glad; and the innocent laugh them to scorn." Psal. iv. 6—8. "lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us: thou hast put gladness in my heart more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased." xxx. 11, 12. "thou hast turned from me my mourning into dancing." lviii. 10. "the righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked." cxxvi. 2. "then was our mouth filled with laughter." Luke ii. 10. "I bring you good tidings of great joy." xxiv. 52. "they returned to Jerusalem with great joy;" and to the same effect in many other passages. Prov. x. 23. "it is as sport to a fool to do mischief; but a man of understanding hath wisdom." xv. 21. "folly is joy to him that is destitute of wisdom; but a man of understanding walketh uprightly." xvii. 5. "whoso mocketh the poor, reproacheth his maker." v. 22. "a merry heart doeth good like a medicine; but a broken spirit drieth the bones." See also xviii. 14. xxvi. 19. "so is the man who deceiveth his neighbour, and saith, Am not I in sport?" Eccles. ii. 2. "I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?" vii. 2—4. "it is better to go to the house of mourning, than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men." Isai. xxii. 12, &c. "in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping and to mourning.... and behold

joy and gladness—." Jer. xxxi. 4. "thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry." v. 13. "then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together, for I will turn their mourning into joy." Lam. v. 15. "the joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning." Amos vi. 6. "that drink wine in bowls . . . but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph." There are occasions on which tears are not unbecoming even a wise man. Gen. xlii. 24. "Joseph turned himself about from them, and wept." Psal. cxix. 136. "rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy law."

In the proper regulation of hope and fear, the cause, the object, and the degree of excitation are chiefly to be considered. Concerning hope, see above; concerning fear, Matt. x. 28. "fear not them which kill the body." Isai. viii. 12, 13. compared with 1 Pet. iii. 14. "be not afraid of their terror." Even the bravest may occasionally be influenced by fear. Gen. xxxii. 7. "then Jacob was greatly afraid." Exod. ii. 14. "Moses feared." 1 Kings xix. 3. "when he saw that, he arose and went for his life." Psal. lv. 5—7. "because of the voice of the enemy. . . . fearfulness and trembling are come upon me." 2 Chron. xx. 3. "Jehoshaphat feared." Nehem. ii. 2. "then I was very sore afraid."

In anger, we are to consider the motive for the passion, its degree, and duration. Prov. xvi. 32. "he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city." xix. 11. "the discretion of a man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to pass over a transgression." Mark iii. 5. "when he had looked round upon them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts —." Eph. iv. 2. "with long suffering." v. 26. "be ye angry, and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your wrath." Col. i. 11. "unto all patience and long-suffering."

The excess of anger is irascibility. Prov. xii. 16. "a fool's wrath is presently known." xiv. 17. "he that is soon angry dealeth foolishly, and a man of wicked devices is hated." xxii. 24, 25. "make no friendship with an angry man—." xxvii. 3. "a stone is heavy. . . but a fool's wrath is heavier." xxix. 22. "an angry man stirreth up strife." Eccles. vii. 9. "be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry; for anger resteth in

the bosom of fools." Matt. v. 22. "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgement." Eph. iv. 31. "let all wrath and anger ... be put away from you." From this infirmity even the best of men are not always exempt. Acts xv. 38, 39. "the contention was so sharp between them, that," &c.

From well-regulated affections proceeds the proper government of the tongue. Prov. xi 9. "an hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbour; but through knowledge shall the just be delivered." v. 11. "by the blessing of the upright the city is exalted; but it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked." xii. 14. "a man shall be satisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth." xiii. 2. "a man shall eat good by the fruit of his mouth; but the soul of the transgressors shall eat violence." xv. 2, 4, 7. "the tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright; but the mouth of fools poureth out foolishness." v. 23. "a man hath joy by the answer of his mouth, and a word spoken in due season how good is it!" v. 28. "the heart of the righteous studieth to answer: but the mouth of the wicked poureth out evil things." xvi. 1. "the answer of the tongue is from Jehovah." v. 23, 27. "the heart of the wise teacheth his mouth, and addeth learning to his lips." xviii. 13. "he that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him" xix. 28. "an ungodly witness scorneth judgement, and the mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity." xxix. 20. "seest thou a man that is hasty in his words? there is more hope of a fool than of him." Matt. xii. 34. 36, 37. "how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." James iii. 2, &c. "if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man." Psal cxli. 3. "set a watch, O Jehovah, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips." Prov. xviii. 21. "death and life are in the power of the tongue." xxi. 23. "whoso keepeth his mouth and his tongue, keepeth his soul from troubles."

CHAP. IX.—Of the first Class of special Virtues connected with the Duty of Man towards himself.

The special virtues which regulate our desire of external advantages, have reference either to bodily gratifications, or to the possessions which enrich and adorn life.

The virtue which prescribes bounds to the desire of bodily gratification is called temperance. Tit. ii. 11, 12. "the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world." 1 Pet. ii. 11. "as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul." 2 Pet. ii. 9. "the Lord knoweth how ... to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to be punished; but chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness."

Under temperance are comprehended sobriety and chastity, modesty and decency.

Sobriety consists in abstinence from immoderate eating and drinking.[2] 1 Thess. v. 8. "let us, who are of the day, be

[2] Abstinence in diet, says a biographer of Milton, was one of his favourite virtues, which he practised invariably through life, and availed himself of every opportunity to recommend in his writings. He is reported to have partaken rarely of wine or of any strong liquors. In his *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, the following passage occurs: 'How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man.' Prose Works, II. 56. Again, in *Paradise Lost*:

> ... well observe
> The rule of *Not too much*, by temperance taught,
> In what thou eat'st and drink'st, seeking from thence
> Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
> Till many years over thy head return. XI. 530.

See also 472, &c., 515, &c., *Il Pens.* 16, *Samson Agonistes*, 542, &c. and the second elegy to Deodati. In the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, he vindicates himself with some indignation against the charge of being a sack-drinker, which one of his opponents had brought against him. He concludes his defence with the following sentence: 'For the readers [of the book in which the accusation appeared], if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleged, to be of life and purpose neither dishonest nor unchaste, they will be easily induced to think me sober both of wine and of word; but if I have been already successless in persuading them, all that I can further say will be but vain; and it will be better

sober." 1 Pet. i. 13. "wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober." iv. 7. "the end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer." v. 8. "be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour." Esther i. 8. "the drinking was according to law; none did compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure."

The opposites of this virtue are drunkenness and gluttony: instances of which may be seen in Noah, Gen. ix. Lot, Gen. xix. and Benhadad, 1 Kings xx. 16. Prov. xx. 1. "wine is a mocker." xxi. 17. "he that loveth wine.... shall not be rich." xxiii. 3, &c. "be not desirous of his dainties, for they are deceitful meat." v. 20, 21. "be not among wine-bibbers, among riotous eaters of flesh—." v. 29—32. "who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? they that tarry long at the wine." Isai. v. 11, 12. "woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink.... but they regard not the work of Jehovah." v. 22. "woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine." xxviii. 1, 3, 7, 8. "woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim—." Ezek. xvi. 49. "behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister, Sodom, pride, fulness of bread." Luke xxi. 34. "take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares." Rom. xiii. 13. "let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness." 1 Cor. vi. 10. "nor drunkards .... shall inherit the kingdom of God." Gal. v. 21. "drunkenness, revellings, and such like.... shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Hos. iv. 10. "they shall eat, and not have enough." vii. 5 "in the day of our king the princes have made him sick with bottles of wine." Habak. ii. 15. "woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink." Eph. v. 18. "be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but—." 1 Pet. iv. 3, 4. "the time past of our lives may suffice us.... when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquettings .... wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot."

thrift to save two tedious labours, mine of excusing, and theirs of needless hearing.' Prose Works, III. 123.

Allied to sobriety is watchfulness. Matt. xxiv. 42. "watch therefore; for ye know not what hour your lord doth come." See also xxv. 13. xxvi. 41. Mark xiii. 35. v. 37. "what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch." Luke xii. 37. "blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching." xxi. 36. "watch ye therefore and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass." Col. iv. 2. "continue in prayer, and watch—." 1 Thess v. 6. "therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober" 1 Pet. v. 8. "be sober, be vigilant." Rev. iii. 3. "if therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come upon thee as a thief in the night." xvi. 15. "blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked." In most of these passages it appears that the watchfulness spoken of refers less to the sleep of the body, than to the lethargy of the mind.

The opposite to this is an excessive love of sleep.[3] Prov. xx. 13. "love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty."

CHASTITY consists in temperance as regards the unlawful lusts of the flesh; which is also called sanctification. 1 Thess. iv. 3. "this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication." Rev. xiv. 4. "these are they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb."

To chastity are opposed all kinds of impurity; effeminacy, sodomy, bestiality, &c. which are offences against ourselves in

[3] Milton is known on his own authority to have seldom gone to bed before midnight, after the twelfth year of his age; to which practice he attributes his subsequent blindness. See his *Defensio Secunda*, and Todd's *Life*, &c. p. 7, note '. His habit of early rising is also mentioned by all his biographers. In summer he rose at four, in winter at five, or if he remained in bed beyond these hours, he employed a person to read to him from the time of his awaking. He has left the following account of his mode of living during his early years in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*: 'Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home, not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour and devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught: then with useful and generous labours preserving the body's health and hardiness to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the inforcement of a slavish life.' Prose Works, III. 112.

the first instance, and tending to our own especial injury.[4] 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16 "know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take, &c.—? what, know ye not that he that which is joined to an harlot is one body?—" v. 18 "flee fornication: every sin that man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body." See also Prov. vi. 24, &c. Gen. xxxviii. 9, 10. "the thing which he did displeased the Lord." Exod. xxii. 19. "whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death." Lev. xviii. 22, 23. "thou shalt not lie with mankind." Deut. xxiii 17. "there shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor," &c. xxvii 21. "cursed is he that lieth with any manner of beast." Prov. ii. 16. "to deliver thee from the strange woman." v. 3, &c. "the lips of a

[4] The same enemy of Milton, who was alluded to in a preceding page as charging him with intemperance in drinking, also accuses him of licentiousness and of frequenting 'playhouses and the bordelloes.' The imputation is thus repelled: 'Having had the doctrine of Holy Scripture, unfolding those chaste and high mysteries, with timeliest care infused, that *the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body*, thus also I argued to myself, that if unchastity in a woman, whom St. Paul terms the glory of man, be such a scandal and dishonour, then certainly in a man, who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflowering and dishonourable; in that he sins both against his own body, which is the perfecter sex, and his own glory, which is in the woman; and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God, which is in himself. Nor did I slumber over that place expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with those celestial songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defiled with women, which doubtless means fornication, for marriage must not be called a defilement. Thus large I have purposely been, that if I have been justly taxed with this crime, it may come upon me, after all this my confession, with a tenfold shame; but if I have hitherto deserved no such opprobrious word or suspicion, I may hereby engage myself now openly to the faithful observation of what I have professed.' *Apology for Smectymnuus* Prose Works, III. 122. Elsewhere, in speaking of his return to England through Geneva, he takes occasion to repel the slanders of Morus, by asserting the purity of his conduct during his stay in Italy. 'Quæ urbs, cum in mentem mihi hinc venit Mori calumniatoris, facit ut Deum hic rursus testem invocem, me his omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa liceant, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuo cogitantem, si hominum latere oculos possem, Dei certi non posse.' *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* Symmons' ed. V. 232. a protestation which he repeats *Authoris pro se Defensio, Ibid* p. 317. Compare also 'Ego ergo scortator — et perspicero facile et risero.' *Authoris pro se Defensio, Ibid* 312, 313 See also the noble passage in *Comus*, 416—475

strange woman drop as an honeycomb." vi. 24. "to keep thee from the evil woman." See also v. 32. vii. 25. "let not thine heart decline to her ways." ix. 18. "he knoweth not that the dead are there—." xxii. 14. "the mouth of strange women is a deep pit." See also xxiii. 26, 27. xxx. 20. "such is the way of an adulterous woman; she eateth, and wipeth her mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness." 1 Kings xiv. 24. "there were also sodomites in the land." Rom. xiii. 13. "not in chambering and wantonness." 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. "be not deceived; neither fornicators . . nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind . .shall inherit the kingdom of God." v. 13, &c. "the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body." Eph. v. 3—5. "fornication and all uncleanness . . let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints . .nor filthiness . .which are not convenient . .for this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person . . hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God."

MODESTY consists in refraining from all obscenity of language or action, in short, from whatever is inconsistent with the strictest decency of behaviour in reference to sex or person. Deut. xxv. 11, 12. "when men strive together," &c. Job xxxi. 1. "I made a covenant with mine eyes," &c. 1 Cor. xi. 10. "for this cause ought the woman to have power on her head, because of the angels." Heb. xii. 28. "we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear." 2 kings iv. 15. "when he had called her, she stood in the door."[5] The same ideas of womanly decorum existed even among the Gentiles. Thus Homer introduces Penelope:

στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο. *Odyss.* ά. 333.

[5] The character of Eve is constructed throughout with a most beautiful attention to the decencies of female decorum. While the angel and Adam conversed together, she remained at a distance, but within view. When, however, they entered 'on studious thoughts abstruse' she withdrew entirely.

. . . . . which Eve
Perceiving, where she sat retir'd in sight,
With lowliness majestic from her seat,
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers
Paradise Lost, VIII. 40.

Subsequently, Adam bears testimony that she seemed 'well to know her own.' 548

She ....beneath
The portal of her stately mansion stood. I. 414. *Cowper's Translation*

Opposed to this are obscene conversation, and filthy licentious gestures. Isai. iii. 16, &c. "therefore Jehovah will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and Jehovah will discover their secret parts" Matt. v. 28. "whosoever looketh on a woman," &c. Eph. v. 4. "neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient." 2 Pet. ii. 14. "having eyes full of adultery."

DECENCY consists in refraining from indecorum or lasciviousness in dress or personal appearance. Exod. xx. 26. "neither shalt thou go up by the steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon." Deut. xxii. 5. "the woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are abomination unto Jehovah thy God." Zeph. i. 8. "it shall come to pass . . that I will punish all such as are clothed in strange apparel" Matt. xi. 8. "they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses." 1 Tim. ii. 9. "in like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array." 1 Pet. iii. 3. "whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or putting on of apparel." 2 Kings ix. 30. "she painted her face," &c.

Moderation in the enjoyment of temporal possessions manifests itself in the virtues of contentment, frugality, industry, and liberal spirit.

CONTENTMENT is that virtue whereby a man is inwardly satisfied with the lot assigned him by divine providence. Prov. x. 22. "the blessing of Jehovah, it maketh rich." xxx. 8. "give me neither poverty nor riches: feed me with food convenient for me." Eccles. iii. 12, 13. "I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice and to do good in his life; and also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God" v. 18, &c. "behold that which I have seen; it is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all the labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life which God giveth him, for it is his portion; every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him

power to eat thereof, and to take his portion and rejoice in his labour; this is the gift of God: for he shall not much remember the days of his life; because God answereth him in the joy of his heart." vi. 1, 2 "there is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is common among men; a man to whom God hath given riches, wealth, and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eateth it." ix. 9, 10. "live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest—." Zech. ix. 16, 17. "how great is his goodness, and how great is his beauty!—" Philipp. iv. 11, 12. "not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content: I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; every where, and in all things, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need." 1 Tim. vi. 6, 7. "godliness with contentment is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out: and having food and raiment let us therewith be content." Heb. xiii. 5. "be content with such things as ye have." Even in poverty. Psal. xxiii. 1, 2. "Jehovah is my shepherd; I shall not want." xxxiv. 9, &c. "there is no want to them that fear him; the young lions do lack and suffer hunger—." xxxvii. 16, 18, 19. "a little that a righteous man hath is better, &c. . . they shall not be ashamed in the evil time, and in the days of famine they shall be satisfied." xl. 17. "I am poor and needy, yet Jehovah thinketh upon me—." lxviii. 10. "thou hast prepared of thy goodness for the poor." Prov. x. 3. "Jehovah will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish." Hence poverty is not to be accounted a disgrace. Prov. xvii. 5. "whoso mocketh the poor, reproacheth his maker." xix. 1. "better is the poor that walketh in his integrity, than he that is perverse in his lips." xxviii. 6. "better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that is perverse in his ways, though he be rich." v. 11. "the rich man is wise in his own conceit, but the poor that hath understanding searcheth him out." We are forbidden to glory in riches, or to put our confidence in them Prov. xi. 28. "he that trusteth in his riches shall fall." Eccles. vi. 11. "seeing there be many things that multiply vanity—." Mark x. 23—25. "how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!. . . . it is easier for a camel to go through the

eye of a needle—." 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18. "charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God." 2 Kings xx. 13, 14 "Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and showed them all the house of his precious things."

Opposed to this are, first, anxiety respecting the necessaries of life. Matt. vi. 25, &c. "take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." v. 33. "seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

Secondly, covetousness. Job. xx. 15. "he hath swallowed down riches and he shall vomit them up again." Josh. vii. 21. "when I saw among the spoils, &c..... then I coveted them and took them." Psal. cxix. 36. "incline my heart unto thy testimonies, and not to covetousness." Prov. i. 19. "so are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain, which taketh away the life of the owners thereof." xv. 27. "he that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house." xx. 21. "an inheritance may be gotten hastily at the beginning, but the end thereof shall not be blessed." Eccles. ii 26. "to the sinner he giveth travail, to gather and to heap up, that he may give to him that is good before God." iv. 8 "there is one alone, and there is not a second; yea, he hath neither child nor brother, yet is there no end of all his labour, neither is his eye satisfied with riches." v. 10. "he that loveth silver, shall not be satisfied with silver." Isai. lvii. 17. "for the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth, and smote him." Matt. vi. 19. "lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt." xxvii. 5. "he cast down the pieces of silver," &c. Luke xii. 15. "take heed and beware of covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth." 1 Tim. vi. 9, &c. "they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts." Heb. xiii. 5. "let your conversation be without covetousness." For covetousness is idolatry. Matt. vi. 24. "ye cannot serve God and mammon." Eph. v. 5. "nor covetous man, who is an idolater." Col. iii. 5. "covetousness, which is idolatry." It is likewise styled the root of all evil. 1 Tim. vi. 10. "the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith."

Thirdly, a murmuring against the wisdom of God in making

provision for the wants of this life. Jude 16. "these are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage."

FRUGALITY consists in avoiding expense, so far as is seemly, and in wasting nothing which is capable of being applied to an useful purpose. John vi. 12. "gather up the fragments that remain."

The opposite of this is penuriousness. 1 Sam. xxv. 3. "the man was churlish." v. 11. "shall I then take my bread, and my water .. and give it unto men?" Eccles. vi. 2. "a man to whom God hath given riches, wealth, and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eateth it."

INDUSTRY is that by which we honestly provide for ourselves the means of comfortable living. Gen ii. 15 "to dress it and to keep it." iii. 19. "in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." Prov. x. 4. "he becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand." v. 5. "he that gathereth in summer is a wise son" xii. 11. "he that tilleth the land shall be satisfied with bread." xiv. 23. "in all labour there is profit." xxi. 5. "the thoughts of the diligent tend only to plenteousness, but of every one that is hasty only to want." xxii. 29. "seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings." 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12. "work with your own hands, as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing." 2 Thess. iii. 12. "we exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread."

The opposite of this is remissness in making provision for the necessaries of life. Prov. vi. 6. "go to the ant, thou sluggard." x. 5. "he that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame." xiii. 4. "the soul of the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing." xix. 22 "a slothful man hideth his hand in his bosom." xx. 4. "the sluggard will not plow by reason of the cold; therefore shall he beg in harvest and have nothing." xxi. 25. "the desire of the slothful killeth him, for his hands refuse to labour." xxii. 13. "the slothful man says, There is a lion in the streets." xxiv. 30. "I went by the field of the slothful." xxvi. 14. "as the door turneth upon his hinges," &c. xxviii. 10. "he that followeth after vain persons shall

have poverty enough." Eccles. iv. 5, 6. "the fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh: better is a handful with quietness, than both the hands full with travail and vexation of spirit." 2 Thess. iii. 10. "if any would not work, neither should he eat."

LIBERALITY is a temperate use of our honest acquisitions in the provision of food and raiment, and of the elegancies of life.

In the provision of food. Gen. xxi. 8. "Abraham made a great feast." Job i. 5. "it was so, when the days of their feasting were gone about, that Job sent and sanctified them." Psal. xxiii. 5. "thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; thou anointest mine head with oil; my cup runneth over." civ. 15. "wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine—." Prov. xxxi. 6. "give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish." Dan. x. 3. "I ate no pleasant bread." Luke v. 29. "Levi made him a great feast." John xii. 2, 3. "there they made him a supper .... then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly." Acts xiv. 17. "filling our hearts with food and gladness."

Of the elegancies of life. Gen. xxiv. 22. "the man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight—." 2 Sam. i. 24. "who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel." Prov. xiv. 24. "the crown of the wise is their riches." xxxi. 22. 25. "she maketh herself coverings of tapestry—." Eccles. ix. 8. "let thy garments be always white, and let thy head lack no ointment."

The opposite of this is luxury. Prov. xxi. 17. "he that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man; he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich." Luke xvi. 19. "there was a certain rich man that was clothed in purple and in fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day."

The virtues more peculiarly appropriate to a high station are lowliness of mind and magnanimity.

Lowliness of mind consists in thinking humbly of ourselves, and in abstaining from self-commendation, except where occasion requires it.[6] Exod. iii. 11. "who am I, that I should go

[6] With reference to this subject compare Milton's spirited account of himself, in the reply to the calumnies circulated against his character, *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, Prose Works, Symmons' ed. V. 229.

unto Pharaoh?" Psal. cxxxi. 1. "my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty, neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me." Prov. xi. 2. "with the lowly is wisdom." xii. 9. "a man that is despised and hath a servant, is better than he that honoureth himself." xv. 33. "before honour is humility." See also xviii. 12. xvi. 19. "better is it to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud." xxix. 23. "honour shall uphold the humble in spirit." Jer. i. 6, 7. "ah Lord . . I am a child." Dan. ii. 31. "this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living." Matt. xxiii. 12. "he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." Rom. xii. 10. "in honour preferring one another." 2 Cor. x. 13. "we will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule," &c. v. 15. "not boasting of things without our measure—." Eph. iii. 8. "unto me who am less than the least of all saints—." v 21. "submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God." Philipp. ii. 3. "in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves."

In abstaining from self-commendation, except where occasion requires it. Job xii. 3. "I have understanding as well as you, I am not inferior to you." xiii. 2. "what ye know, the same do I know also." xxix. 8, &c. "the young men saw me, and hid themselves, and the aged arose and stood up." Judges v. 7. "until I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel." Eccles. i. 16. "lo, I am come to great estate, and have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me."

Opposed to this are, first, arrogance. Prov. xx. 6. "most men will proclaim every one his own goodness." xxvi. 16. "the sluggard is wiser in his own conceit, than seven men that can render a reason." James iii. 1. "be not many masters, knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation."

Secondly, a desire of vain glory. Matt xxiii. 12. "whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased." John v. 41. "I receive not honour from men." v. 44. "how can ye believe,

'Nunc quoniam iste, . . . congestis in me tot una serie mendaciis, apud exteros infamem reddere conatus est, peto ne quis rem secus interpretetur, aut in invidiam trahat, neve moleste ferat, si de me plura quam vellem et dixi supra, et porro dicam; ut si oculos a cæcitate, nomen ab oblivione aut calumnia non possum, vitam tamen possum ab ea saltem obscuritate quæ eam macula sit, in lucem vindicare,' &c.

which receive honour one of another?" xii. 42, 43. "they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." Gal. v. 26. "let us not be desirous of vain glory." 1 Thess. ii. 6. "nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others."

Thirdly, boasting. Prov. xxv. 14. "whoso boasteth himself of a false gift, is like clouds and wind without rain."

Fourthly, a crafty or hypocritical extenuation of our own merits, for the purpose of extorting greater praises.

Fifthly, a glorying in iniquity and misdeeds. Psal. lii. 1. "why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O thou mighty man?" Isai. iii. 9. "they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not; woe unto their soul, for they have rewarded evil unto themselves."

Allied to lowliness is the love of an unspotted reputation, and of the praises of good men, with a proportionate contempt for those of the wicked. Psal. cxix. 22. "remove from me reproach and contempt; for I have kept thy testimonies." v. 39. "turn away my reproach, which I fear." Prov. xxii. 1. "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour rather than silver and gold." Eccles. vii. 1. "a good name is better than precious ointment." 1 Kings xviii. 13. "was it not told my lord what I did, when Jezebel slew the prophets of Jehovah?" Neh. v. 14, 15. "so did not I, because of the fear of God." Matt. v 11. "blessed are ye when men ... shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake." 2 Cor. vi. 8. "by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true" Heb xi. 24-26. "esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt." xiii. 13. "let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach."

Opposed to this is a shameless disregard of reputation. Luke xviii. 2. "which feared not God, neither regarded man."

Secondly, an excessive and indiscriminate passion for esteem and praise, from whatever quarter. Prov. xxvii. 2. "let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth." Matt. xxiii. 5. "all their works they do for to be seen of men." Luke vi. 26. "woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you."

MAGNANIMITY is shown, when in seeking or avoiding, the acceptance or refusal of riches, advantages, or honours, we are actuated by a regard to our own dignity, rightly

understood. Thus Abraham did not refuse the gifts of the king of Egypt, Gen. xii. 13. xx. 14. though he rejected those of the king of Sodom, xiv. 22, 23. and though he declined to accept the field offered him by Ephron the Hittite, except on payment of its full value, xxiii. 13. Thus also Job, although restored to his former health and prosperity, did not disdain the congratulatory offerings of his friends, xlii. 11. In this spirit Gideon refused the kingdom, Judges viii. 23. The same disposition accompanied Joseph in his exaltation from a prison to the first honours of the empire, Gen. xli. So also Daniel ii. 48, 49. "then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts." On the other hand, chap. v. 17. "he answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another;" but v. 29. "Belshazzar commanded, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet." He was actuated by the same temper in refusing and accepting dignities. vi. 2. "over these were three presidents, of whom Daniel was first." Such was also the spirit of Nehemiah in asking honours, ii. 5. "I said unto the king, If it please the king, and if thy servant hath found favour in thy sight, that thou wouldest send me into Judah;" of Samuel in laying down his authority, 1 Sam x. 1. "then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not because Jehovah hath anointed thee? -" of Elisha in refusing a reward for the cure he had wrought, 2 Kings v. 15, 16. "as Jehovah liveth, before whom I stand, I will receive none," of Christ in rejecting the empire of the world, Matt. iv. 9. "all these things will I give thee, if," &c. Luke iv. 6 John vi. 15. "when Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a king, he departed—;" in despising riches, 2 Cor. viii. 9. "though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor," in accepting honours, Matt xxi. 7, &c. "they brought the ass, and the colt .... and they set him thereon." Such, finally, is the spirit by which every true Christian is guided in his estimate of himself. James i. 9, 10. "let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich in that he is made low."

Allied to this is indignation at the unfounded praises or undeserved prosperity of the wicked Prov. xxx. 21, &c. "for three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear; for a servant when he reigneth, and a fool when he is

filled with meat; for an odious woman when she is married, and an handmaid that is heir to her mistress." When however this feeling exceeds due bounds, it ceases to be praiseworthy. Psal. xxxvii. 1. "fret not thyself because of evil doers." v. 7, 8. "fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass." Prov. iii. 31. "envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways." The language of indignation is used, Job xxx. 1, &c. Psal. xv. 4. "in whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them that fear Jehovah." The vehemence of its expression sometimes borders on indecency. See Ezek. xvi. 25, 36.

Opposed to magnanimity are, first, an ambitious spirit. Numb. xii. 2. "hath Jehovah indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?" xvi. 3. "seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and Jehovah is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of Jehovah?" Judges ix. 1, 2. "Abimelech went to Shechem .... and communed with them .... saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem," &c. 2 Sam. xv. 2. "Absalom rose up early, and stood beside the way of the gate—." v. 4. "O that I were made judge in this land—." Prov. xxv. 27. "for men to search their own glory is not glory."

Secondly, pride, when a man values himself without merit, or more highly than his merits deserve, or is elated by some insignificant circumstance. 2 Sam. xxii. 28. "thine eyes are upon the haughty, that thou mayest bring them down." Prov. vi. 16, 17. "these six things doth Jehovah hate ... a proud look—." xv. 25. "Jehovah will destroy the house of the proud" xvi. 5. "every one that is proud in heart is an abomination to Jehovah." v. 18. "pride goeth before destruction." xviii. 12. "before destruction the heart of man is haughty." xxi. 4. "an high look, and a proud heart—." xxix. 23. "a man's pride shall bring him low."

Thirdly, pusillanimity; of which Saul when chosen king is an example, 1 Sam. x. 21, 22. "when they sought him, he could not be found.... behold, he hath hid himself among the stuff."

CHAP. X. —Of the Second Class of Virtues connected with the Duty of Man towards himself.

The virtues which regulate our desire of external good have been spoken of; we are next to consider those which are exercised in the resistance to, or the endurance of evil.

These virtues are fortitude and patience.

Fortitude is chiefly conspicuous in repelling evil or regarding its approach with equanimity. Josh. i. 6, 7, 9. "have not I commanded thee? be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed." Heb. xi. 32, &c. "the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, &c. who through faith subdued kingdoms." Psal. iii. 9. "I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people that have set themselves against me round about." See Psal. xviii. 32, &c. xxiii. 4. "though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." xxxvii. 12, &c. "the wicked plotteth against the just.... the wicked have drawn out the sword... their sword shall enter into their own heart." xlvi. 1, 2. "God is our refuge and strength ... therefore we will not fear, though the earth be removed." lvi. 11. "in God have I put my trust; I will not be afraid what man can do unto me." See also cxviii. 6. cxii. 7, 8. "he shall not be afraid of evil tidings." Prov. iii. 24, 25. "when thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid." xxiv. 5, 6. "a wise man is strong; yea, a man of knowledge increaseth strength." xxviii. 1. "the righteous are bold as a lion." Isai. xli. 10. "fear thou not, for I am with thee." li. 7. "fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings." v. 12. "I am he that comforteth you; who art thou that thou shouldest be afraid—?" Dan. iii. 16. "they said to the king.... we are not careful to answer thee in this matter." Matt. x. 28. &c. "fear not them which kill the body—." The great pattern of fortitude is our Saviour Jesus Christ, throughout the whole of his life, and in his death. Luke xiii. 31, &c. "go ye and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected." John xi. 7, 8. "his disciples say unto him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee, and goest thou thither again?" 2 Tim. i. 7. "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and

of a sound mind." 1 John ii. 14. "I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one."

Opposed to fortitude are, first, timidity. Psal. xxvii. 1. "Jehovah is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?" Prov. x. 24. "the fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him." xxv. 26. "a righteous man falling down before the wicked, is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring." xxviii. 1. "the wicked flee when no man pursueth." xxix. 25. "the fear of man bringeth a snare." Isa. xli. 13, 14. "fear not, thou worm Jacob." Nehem. vi. 11. "should such a man as I flee?" Matt. xxiv. 6. "ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled." Rev. xxi. 8. "the fearful and unbelieving . shall have their part in the lake that burneth—."

Secondly, rashness, which consists in exposing ourselves to danger unnecessarily. Prov. xiv. 16. "a wise man feareth and departeth from evil: but the fool rageth, and is confident." This fault is exemplified in Amaziah, 2 Kings xiv. 8. "come, let us look one another in the face;" and in Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—22. "he sent ambassadors unto him, saying.. nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him—." Christ has taught us to avoid it by his example. John vii. 1. "he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him." xi. 53, 54. "Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews." Matt. x. 23. "when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another."

PATIENCE consists in the endurance of misfortunes and injuries. Psal. lxix. 7. "for thy sake I have borne reproach, shame hath covered my face." Prov. xi. 12. "he that is void of wisdom despiseth his neighbour, but a man of understanding holdeth his peace." xvii. 27. "he that hath knowledge spareth his words, and a man of understanding is of an excellent spirit." xix. 11. "the discretion of man deferreth his anger." Eccles. vii. 21. "also take no heed unto all words that are spoken, lest thou hear thy servant curse thee." Isai l. 7, 8. "I have set my face like a flint—." Matt. v. 39. "resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." 1 Cor. vi. 7. "why do ye not rather take wrong?" 1 Thess. v. 14. "be patient towards all men." See above, on patience towards God. Compensation for injuries, nevertheless, is occasionally exacted

even by pious men. Acts xvi. 37. "they have beaten us openly uncondemned," &c.

The opposites to this are, first, impatience and an effeminate spirit, Prov. xxiv. 10. "if thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small."

Secondly, an hypocritical patience, which voluntarily inflicts upon itself unnecessary evils. This is exemplified in the prophets of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 28. "they cut themselves after their manner with knives;" and in the flagellations of the modern Papists.

Lastly, a stoical apathy; for sensibility to pain, and even lamentations, are not inconsistent with true patience; as may be seen in Job and the other saints, when under the pressure of affliction.[1]

CHAP. XI.—Of the Duties of Man towards his Neighbour, and the Virtues comprehended under those Duties.

Hitherto we have treated of those duties of charity and justice which man owes to himself; we are next to consider the same virtues as exercised towards our neighbour.

Charity towards our neighbour consists in loving him as ourselves. Lev. xix. 18. "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; I am Jehovah." 1 John iv. 11. "beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." Under the name of neighbour are comprehended all to whom we have the opportunity of rendering service or assistance. Luke x. 36, 37. "which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him—? he that shewed mercy on him;" as in the present instance the Samaritan shewed mercy on the Jew, although estranged from him in so many respects.

Chiefly however believers: Gal. iv. 10. "as we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith;" inasmuch as, in addition to the ordinary tie of affinity, we are connected with them by a spiritual bond: Eph. iv. 3. "endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Next in degree are those most closely allied to us by relationship or friend-

[1] This distinction is well illustrated in the character of Samson, throughout the drama which bears that name.

ship. Rom. ix. 3. "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites—." 1 Tim. v. 4. "let them learn first to shew piety at home, and to requite their parents; for that is good and acceptable before God."

Even our enemies are not to be excluded from the exercise of our charity, inasmuch as they are not excluded from our prayers. Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. "if thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray," &c. Prov. xxv. 21, 22. "if thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and Jehovah shall reward thee." See also Rom. xii. 14, 20. Matt. v. 44. "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you—." Matt. vi. 15. "if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." Luke xxii. 51. "he touched his ear and healed him." xxiii. 34. "Father, forgive them—." Rom. xii. 17. "recompense to no man evil for evil." v. 21. "be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." 1 Thess. v. 15. "see none render evil for evil unto any man." 1 Pet. iii. 9. "not rendering evil for evil." We are taught the same by the example of God himself. Matt. v. 44. "love your enemies. . . . that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." Rom. v. 8. "God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

The opposite of this virtue is, first, uncharitableness towards our neighbour. James ii. 15, 16. "if a brother or a sister be naked, and destitute of daily food," &c.

Secondly, hypocritical charity. Matt. vi. 2—4. "when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do—."

Thirdly, an excessive and preposterous love. 1 Sam. ii. 29. "thou honourest thy sons above me—." xvi. 1. "how long wilt thou mourn for Saul, seeing I have rejected him?" Matt. x. 37. "he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me."

Fourthly, hatred of our neighbour. 1 John iii. 15. "whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer." iv. 8. "he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love."

Fifthly, a meddling disposition. Prov. xxvi. 17. "he that passeth by and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears."

Hatred, however, is in some cases a religious duty; as when we hate the enemies of God or the church.[a] 2 Chron. xix. 2. "shouldest thou love them that hate Jehovah?" Psal. xxxi. 6. "I have hated them that regard lying vanities." cxxxix. 21, 22. "do I not hate them, O Jehovah, that hate thee?" Prov. xxviii. 4. "they that forsake the law, praise the wicked; but such as keep the law contend with them." xxix. 27. "an unjust man is an abomination to the just." Jer. xlviii. 10. "cursed be he that doeth the work of Jehovah deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood." We are to hate even our dearest connections, if they endeavour to seduce or deter us from the love of God and true religion. Exod. xxxii. 27. "slay every man his brother, and every man his companion." Deut. xiii. 6–8. "if thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods," &c. Luke xiv. 26. "if any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife," &c. Thus Christ, notwithstanding his love for Peter: Mark viii. 33. "get thee behind me, Satan."

Love towards our neighbour is absolute or reciprocal.

Under absolute love are comprised humanity, good will, and compassion.

HUMANITY consists in the performance of those ordinary attentions which man owes to man, whether living or dead, as the partaker of one common nature. Deut. xxii. 1, &c. "thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray," &c.

Towards the dead, humanity is shown by mourning for their loss, and by a decent sepulture.

Mourning is the appropriate mark of respect paid to the memory of all who are not utterly worthless. Gen. l. 3. "the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days." 2 Sam. i. 12. "they mourned and wept, and fasted until even, for Saul and for Jonathan his son, and for the people

[a] 'But ye will say, these (the prophets) had immediate warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I say, so much the plainlier is it proved, that there may be a sanctified bitterness against the enemies of truth.' *Apology for Smectymnuus*. Prose Works, III. 130.

of Jehovah, and for the house of Israel, because they were fallen by the sword." iii. 31, 32. "the king wept at the grave of Abner, and all the people wept." Much more therefore to those of our own household. Thus the ancient patriarchs: Gen l. 10. "they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation." So also when believers are cut off." Acts viii. 2. "devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him." Even on such occasions, however, our grief ought not to be immoderate. Lev. xxi. 2, 4, 5. "he shall not defile himself, being a chief man among his people, to profane himself; they shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard; nor make any cuttings in their flesh." Deut. xiv. 1. "ye are the children of Jehovah your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." 1 Thess. iv. 13. "sorrow not, even as others which have no hope."

Decent burial. Gen. xxiii. 8. "that I may bury my dead out of my sight." xxxv. 20. "Jacob set a pillar upon her grave." l. 2, &c. "Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father." 2. Chron. xvi. 14. "they laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices," &c. To remain unburied is an indignity. Jer. viii. 2. "they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven," &c. xvi. 4, &c. "they shall not be lamented, neither shall they be buried." Any place of sepulture which is consistent with decency, may be adopted without impropriety. Sarah, for instance, was buried in a cave, Gen. xxiii. 19. Rachel, not in Ephrath, but on the high road to that city, xxxv. 18. xlviii. 7. Samuel in his own house at Ramah, 1 Sam. xxv. 1. and Christ in a garden near the place of crucifixion. When Jacob and Joseph made it their especial request to be gathered unto the sepulchre of their fathers in the land of promise, this was in token of their reliance on the divine declarations, Gen. xlix. 29. l. 25. Josh. xxiv. 32. Heb. xi. 22. "by faith, Joseph.... gave commandment concerning his bones."

The opposite of humanity is, first, inhumanity; against which there are the severest prohibitions, Lev. xix. 14. "thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind." Deut. xxvii. 18. "cursed be he that maketh the blind

to wander out of the way." Such was that of the Edomites towards the Israelites in their distress, Amos i. 6, &c. Psal. cxxxvii. 7. "rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof." Such too was that of the priest and Levite in the parable, who passed by on the other side, when the traveller who had fallen among thieves was lying half dead and plundered, Luke x. 31, 32.

Secondly, an incautious and unadvised humanity; as for instance when we become responsible for another without due consideration. Prov. vi. 1, 2. "if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger, thou art snared with the words of thy mouth—." xi. 15. "he that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it, and he that hateth suretyship is sure." xvii. 18. "a man void of understanding striketh hands—." xx. 16. "take his garment that is surety for a stranger." See also xxvii. 13. xxii. 26, 27. "be not one of them that strike hands," &c.

Thirdly, an officious humanity. Prov. xxv. 17. "withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house, lest he be weary of thee, and so hate thee." 1 Kings xiii. 15, 16. "then he said unto him, Come home with me, and eat bread."

Lastly, an excess of humanity, which makes provision for the idle and undeserving. 2 Thess. iii. 10. "if any would not work, neither should he eat."

The second modification of love is GOOD WILL, which consists in wishing well to all men. Such was that of Titus, 2 Cor. viii. 16. "which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you;" and of the angels, Luke ii. 10. "I bring you good tidings of great joy;" and xv. 10. "there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." Rom. xii. 15. "rejoice with them that do rejoice."

The opposite of this is, first, envy, or a grudging disposition; which is shewn in various ways. First, when a man cannot bear that others should participate in his good fortune; as in the instance of the labourers who were hired first into the vineyard, Matt. xx. 11, &c. and of the Jews who were unwilling that salvation should be extended to the Gentiles, as may be seen throughout the book of Acts. Secondly, when a man grudges another that which he cannot himself obtain; which is exemplified in the envy with which Satan

regards the salvation of the human race;[g] in Cain's anger against his brother, because God had more respect unto him, Gen. iv.[1] in Esau, xxvii. 41. in Joseph's brethren, Acts vii. 9. in Saul, 1 Sam. xviii. 7, 8. and in the princes of Persia, Dan. vi. Thirdly, when a man is jealous that any should be endued with the same gifts as one of whom he is himself an admirer or follower, which is exemplified in Joshua, Num. xi. 28. in John's disciples, John iii. 26. and in those of Christ, Mark ix. 38. "we saw one casting out devils in thy name," &c. Envy is to be shunned, Matt. xx. 15. "is thine eye evil, because I am good?" partly as instigating to crimes, murder for instance, Gen. iv. 2 Sam. iii. 24, 27. "what hast thou done? behold Abner came unto thee .. and he smote him there under the fifth rib;" and partly as being in its nature a self-tormentor: Prov. xiv. 30. "envy is the rottenness of the bones." James iii. 16. "where envying.... is, there is confusion and every evil work."

Secondly, pretended good will; which is exemplified in the Pharisees who invited Christ to eat bread, Luke xiv. 1, &c. "it came to pass as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath-day, that they watched him."

The third modification of absolute love is COMPASSION. Zech. vii. 9. "shew mercy and compassions every man to his brother." Job. xxx. 25. "did not I weep for him that was in trouble?" Matt. v. 7. "blessed are the merciful." Luke x. 33. "a certain Samaritan.... had compassion on him." Rom. xii. 15. "weep with them that weep." Compassion extends even to animals. Prov. xii. 10. "a righteous man regardeth the life of his beast." Deut. xxii. 6—8. "if a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way," &c.

The opposite of this is, first, unmercifulness. Prov. xii. 10. "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." James ii. 13.

[g] ....Aside the devil turn'd
For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Ey'd them askance *Paradise Lost*, IV. 502.
..I reck not, so it light well aim'd,
Since higher I fall short, on him who next
Provokes my envy, this new favourite
Of Heav'n, this man of clay. IX. 173.

[1] .. ..Th' unjust the just hath slain,
For envy that his brother's offering found
From Heav'n acceptance. XI. 155.

"he shall have judgement without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy."

Secondly, a rejoicing in the misfortunes of others. Psal. lii. 1. "why boastest thou thyself in mischief?" This is exemplified in the Edomites, Psal. cxxxvii. Prov. xxiv. 17. "rejoice not when thine enemy falleth."

Thirdly, pretended pity. Psal. xli. 6. "if he come to see me, he speaketh vanity."

Fourthly, a misplaced compassion. Jer. xvi. 7. "neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead—." This is exemplified in the pity of Ahab for Benhadad.

Under reciprocal love are comprised brotherly love and friendship.

BROTHERLY or CHRISTIAN LOVE is the strongest of all affections, whereby believers mutually love and assist each other as members of Christ, and are as far as possible of one mind; bearing at the same time to the utmost of their power with the weaker brethren, and with such as are of a different opinion. Psal. cxxxiii. 1. "behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." John xiii. 34, &c. "by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." xv. 12, &c. "this is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you; greater love hath no man than this—." See also Eph. v. 1 1 John iii. 16. John xvii. 11. "that they may be one, as we are." Rom. xiv. 19. "let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another." 2 Cor. xiii. 11. "be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you." Eph. iv. 15. "that we.. speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ." Philipp. ii. 2. "that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind." Col ii. 1, 2. "their hearts being knit together in love." iii. 15. "let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body, and be ye thankful." 1 Thess. iv. 9. "as touching brotherly love ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another." Heb. xiii. 3, &c. "remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them—." 1 Pet. ii. 17. "love the brotherhood." iv. 8. "above all things have

fervent charity among yourselves, for charity shall cover the multitude of sins." 2 Pet. i. 7. "add to brotherly kindness charity" 1 John ii. 10. "he that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him." iii. 14, 15. "we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." iv. 7, 8. "beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God." v. 2. "by this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments."

Bearing with the weaker brethren, &c. Acts xxi. 20, &c. "thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law . . do therefore this—." Gal. vi. 1, 2. "brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted, bear ye one another's burthens." Eph. iv. 2. "with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering; forbearing one another in love." Col. iii. 12—14 "put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another; if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye."

Opposed to this are divisions, enmities, rivalries among brethren, &c. Gen. xiii. 8. "let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we be brethren." 1 Cor. iii. 3. "whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal?" Gal. v. 20, 21. "hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." 1 John ii 9, 11. "he that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now." To these may be added a pretended brotherly love, from which great danger often arises to believers. 2 Cor. xi. 26. "in perils among false brethren." Gal. ii. 4. "and that because of false brethren unawares brought in."

Friendship is a most intimate union of two or more individuals, cemented by an interchange of all good offices, of a civil at least, if not of a religious kind. Eccles. iv. 9, &c. "two are better than one, because they have a good reward for their labour—." It takes precedence of all degrees of

relationship Deut. xiii. 6. "thy friend, which is as thine own soul." Prov. xvii. 17. "a friend loveth at all times." xviii 24. "there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother." xxvii. 10. "thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not, neither go into thy brother's house in the day of thy calamity; for better is a neighbour that is near, than a brother that is far off."

Friendship, and even common companionship with good men, is safe and advantageous. Gen. xii. 3. "I will bless them that bless thee." xviii. 26. "if I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then will I spare all the place for their sakes." xix. 21. "see, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also." xx. 7. "he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live." Numb. xi. 2. "the people cried unto Moses; and when Moses prayed unto Jehovah, the fire was quenched." xiv. 19, 20. "pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people.... I have pardoned according to thy word." 1 Sam. xv. 6. "go, depart.... lest I destroy you with them: for ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel—." Psal. cxix. 63. "I am a companion of all them that fear thee." Prov. xiii. 20. "he that walketh with wise men shall be wise." Isai. lxv. 8. "so will I do for my servants' sake." Ezek. xxii. 30. "I sought for a man among them that should make up the hedge." They are also useful as counsellors. Exod. xviii. 14. "when Moses' father-in law saw all that he did to the people," &c. v. 24. "so Moses hearkened unto the voice of his father-in law." Prov xii. 15. "he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise." xxvii. 9. "ointment and perfume rejoice the heart; so doth the sweetness of a man's friend by hearty counsel." The benefits of their friendship, however, extend not to the ensuring our salvation in a future life; not even in the instance of those who associated with Christ on earth: Matt. xii. 46, &c. Mark iii. 35. Luke xi. 27. xiii. 26. John vii. 5.

Opposed to this, are, first, pretended friendship. Job xix. 13, &c. "he hath put my brethren far from me, and mine acquaintance are verily estranged from me." Psal. lv. 12, &c. "it was not an enemy that reproached me, then I could have borne it.... but it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance; we took sweet counsel to-

gether, and walked unto the house of God in company." Prov. xix. 4, 6, 7. "many will intreat the favour of the prince," &c. Of this crime the traitor Judas is an example.

Secondly, friendship or social intercourse with the wicked. Gen. xiv. 12. "they took Lot —." xix. 12, &c. "hast thou here any beside?.... bring them out of this place." Psal. i. 1. "blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly." xxvi. 4, 5. "I have not sat with vain persons—." cxli. 4. "incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity." Prov. xiii. 20. "a companion of fools shall be destroyed." xiv. 7. "go from the presence of a foolish man." v. 9. "fools make a mock at sin; but among the righteous there is favour." v. 14 "a good man shall be satisfied from himself." xxiv. 1, 2. "neither desire to be with them." xxviii. 7. "he that is a companion of riotous men, shameth his father." Rom. i. 31, 32. "who not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them." 1 Cor. xv. 33. "be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners." Eph. v. 7. "be not ye therefore partakers with them." v. 11. "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." Such intercourse, however, is sometimes unavoidable in the present life. Judges ix. 3. "there were gathered vain men to Jephthah, and went out with him." 1 Sam. xxii. 2. "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt.... gathered themselves unto him." xxx. 22. "then answered all the wicked men and men of Belial, of those that went with David—." Psal. cxx 5, 6. "woe is me!.... my soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace." 1 Cor. v 9—11. "I wrote unto you in an epistle not to company with fornicators; yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world .. for then ye must needs go out of the world; but.... if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator—."

Thirdly, enmity. Prov. xvii. 14. "the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water; therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with" v. 19. "he loveth transgression that loveth strife; and he that exalteth his gate, seeketh destruction" xx. 3. "it is an honour for a man to cease from strife; but every fool will be meddling." xxvi 26. "whose hatred is covered by deceit, his wickedness shall be showed before the whole congregation."

CHAP. XII.—Of the special Virtues or Duties which regard our Neighbour.

The special virtues, or various modes of charity or justice as regards our neighbour, relate to him either under the general acceptation of the word neighbour, as denoting simple proximity; or under some special acceptation, where our relationship arises from special circumstances.

The discharge of our special duties towards our neighbour includes the regulation not only of our actions, but of our affections, as concerns him. Exod. xx. 17. "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house—."

Special duties towards our neighbour, using the word in its general sense, regard either his internal or external good.

His internal good is consulted by a regard to his safety and honour; his external, by a concern for his good name and worldly interests. Our regard to his safety should extend not merely to the present life, but to the eternal state Prov. x. 11. "the mouth of a righteous man is a well of life." Rom. xiv. 15. "destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died." James v. 20. "let him know that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins" The duty of preserving our neighbour's life is inculcated. Prov. xxiv. 11, 12 "if thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? doth not he know it? and shall he not render to every man according to his works?"

Under this class of virtues are comprehended innocence, meekness, and placability.

Innocence consists in doing a voluntary injury to no one. Psal. xxiv. 4. "he that hath clean hands." xxvi. 6. "I will wash mine hands in innocency." Rom. xii. 18. "if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Heb. xii. 14. "follow peace with all men."

Meekness is that by which we are so far from offering or taking offence, that we conduct ourselves mildly and affectionately towards all men, as far as is practicable. Numb. xii. 3. "now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth." Psal. xxv. 9. "the meek

will he teach his way." cxlvii. 6. "Jehovah lifteth up the meek." Isai. lxi. 1, "Jehovah hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek." Matt. v. 5. "blessed are the meek." xi. 29. "learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls." xxi. 5. "behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek—." Tit. iii. 2. "showing all meekness unto all men."

PLACABILITY consists in a readiness to forgive those by whom we have been injured. Matt. vi. 12, 14. "forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors .... for if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you." xviii. 21, 22. "how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? .... until seventy times seven." Luke xvii. 3, 4. "if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him; and if he trespass against thee seven times a day—." Rom. xii. 18. "if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men."

Opposed to a regard for the life of our neighbour, is, first, the shedding his blood. Gen. iv. 10. "what hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." ix 5, 6. "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man." Exod. xx. 13. "thou shalt not kill." xxi. 12. "he that smiteth a man so that he die, shall surely be put to death." v. 14. "if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile," &c. v. 28. "if an ox gore a man," &c. Deut. xxvii. 25. "cursed is he that taketh reward to slay an innocent person." Numb. xxxv. 31. "ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer." v. 34. "defile not therefore the land which ye shall inhabit—." Deut. xxi. 1. "if one be found slain in the land," &c. 1 Kings ii. 5, 6. "thou knowest also what Joab did to me," &c v. 33, 34. "their blood shall therefore return upon the head of Joab." Prov. vi. 16, 17. "these six things doth Jehovah hate .... hands that shed innocent blood." xxviii. 17. "a man that doeth violence to the blood of any person, shall flee to the pit; let no man stay him."

Under this head is also included, first, every thing by which the life of our neighbour is endangered; as blows, wounds, mutilations, &c. Exod. xxi. 18, &c. "if men strive together, and one strike another," &c. Lev. xxiv. 19, 20. "if a man

cause a blemish in his neighbour," &c. Deut. xxvii. 24. "cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly."

Secondly, hasty anger. Prov. xiv 29. "he that is slow to wrath is of great understanding; but he that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly." xvi. 32. "he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city" xix. 11 "the discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression" xv. 18. "a wrathful man stirreth up strife." Matt. v. 22. "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgement." 1 John iii. 15. "whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer."

Thirdly, revenge. Lev. xix. 18. "thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people." Deut. xxxii. 35. "to me belongeth vengeance and recompense." Psal. xciv. 1. "O Jehovah, God to whom vengeance belongeth." Prov. xx. 22. "say not thou, I will recompense evil." xxiv. 29. "say not, I will do so to him as he hath done to me." Rom. xii. 19. "dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath." 1 Pet. iii. 8, 9. "not rendering evil for evil." To avenge the church, however, or to desire that she be avenged of her enemies, is not forbidden. Exod. xvii. 16. "because Jehovah hath sworn that Jehovah will have war with Amalek from generation to generation." Deut. xxv. 17. "remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way." Psal. xviii. 37—43. "I have pursued mine enemies . . . then did I beat them small as the dust." xli. 10, 11. "raise me up that I may requite them." lv. 5. "he shall reward evil unto mine enemies" xcii. 11. "mine eyes also shall see my desire upon mine enemies." xciv. 2. "render a reward to the proud." cxxxvii. 8. "O daughter of Babylon," &c. Jer. xi. 20. "let me see thy vengeance on them." See also xx. 12. xv. 15. "revenge me of my persecutors." l. 15. "take vengeance upon her." Lament. i. 21, 22. "let all their wickedness come before thee." iii. 64, &c. "render unto them a recompense." Esther ix. 13. "then said Esther, If it please the king, let it be granted unto the Jews . . . . to do to-morrow also according unto this day's decree, and let Haman's ten sons be hanged on the gallows." Rev. vi. 10. "how long, O Lord—?"

The HONOUR of our neighbour is consulted by a respect to

his personal modesty. Levit. xix. 29. "do not prostitute thy daughter to cause her to be a whore." Deut. xxiii. 17. "there shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a sodomite of the sons of Israel."

Opposed to this are unnatural vices, fornication, violation, adultery, incest, rape, whoredom, and similar offences. Gen. xix 5. "bring them out unto us, that we may know them." See also Judges xix. 22. Deut. xxiii. 17, as above 1 Kings xv. 12. "he took away the sodomites out of the land." xxii. 46. "the remnant of the sodomites," &c. Gen. xxxiv. 2. "he took her, and lay with her, and defiled her." Exod. xx. 14. "thou shalt not commit adultery." Levit. xviii. 20. "thou shalt not lie carnally with thy neighbour's wife, to defile thyself with her." Job. xxxi. 9, 10, &c. "if mine heart hath been deceived by a woman," &c. Jer. v. 7, 8. "they committed adultery, and assembled themselves by troops in the harlots' houses." Ezek. xviii. 6. "neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife." xxii 11. "one hath committed abomination with his neighbour's wife." Hosea vii. 4. "they are all adulterers." Amos ii. 7. "a man and his father will go in unto the same maid—." Heb. xiii. 4. "whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." Hence the laws against fornication, Exod. xxii. 16, 17, &c. "if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her," &c. against incest, Levit. xviii. 6. xx. 11, &c. "the man that lieth with his father's wife," &c. Deut. xxii. 21, 23, 28. "then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her . . because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the whore in her father's house: if a man be found lying with a woman married to an husband . . . . if a man find a damsel that is a virgin—." xxiii. 2. "a bastard shall not enter into the congregation of Jehovah." xxvii. 20, &c. "cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife." Hence also provision was expressly made for cases of jealousy. Numb. v. 12, &c. Prov. vi. 34. "jealousy is the rage of a man." Cantic. viii 6. "jealousy is cruel as the grave." Even before the promulgation of the law, adultery was made capital by divine command: Gen. xx. 3. "thou art but a dead man, for the woman whom thou hast taken." xxxviii. 24. "bring her forth, and let her be burnt." Some marriages, however, were prohibited by the Mosaic code, which appear to have

been previously lawful. Gen. xx. 12. "yet indeed she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father;" compared with Deut. xxvii. 22. "cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father;" and Ezek. xxii. 11. "another in thee hath humbled his sister, his father's daughter." Exod. vi. 20. "Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife" Levit. xviii. 12. "thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister."

Respecting a menstruous woman, see Levit. xx. 18. "if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness," &c. Ezek. xviii. 6. "neither hath come near to a menstruous woman." xxii. 10. "in thee have they humbled her that was set apart for pollution."

CHAP. XIII.—Of the second Class of special Duties towards our Neighbour.

The external good of our neighbour is consulted, as before said, by a regard to his good name and worldly interests.

We consult OUR NEIGHBOUR'S GOOD NAME, when IN OUR DEPORTMENT TOWARDS HIM, IN OUR CONVERSATION WITH HIM, AND IN OUR MANNER OF SPEAKING OF HIM, WE PRESERVE TOWARDS HIM A DUE RESPECT, AND AVOID DOING ANYTHING WHICH MAY CAUSELESSLY INJURE HIM IN THE OPINION OF OTHERS. 1 Pet. ii. 17. "honour all men." Gen. xviii. 2, &c. "he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground." xxiii. 7. "Abraham stood up, and bowed himself to the people of the land." Exod. xviii. 7. "Moses went out to meet his father-in-law." Ruth ii. 10. "then she fell on her face and bowed herself to the ground." Nor are we anywhere told that obeisance was made even to kings otherwise than by a lowly inclination of the body, the same token of respect which was frequently paid to each other even by private individuals.[2]

[2] A scrupulous attention is paid throughout Paradise Lost to this duty, and inferiors are generally represented as shewing their respect to personages of superior dignity in the manner here mentioned. Thus it is said of the fallen angels worshipping Satan:

> .....Towards him they bend,
> With awful reverence prone. II. 477.

IN OUR DEPORTMENT TOWARDS HIM. To this head belongs that sense of delicacy, which precludes us from saying or doing everything indiscriminately, however proper in itself, in the presence of our neighbour. Job xix. 3. "ye are not ashamed that ye make yourselves strange to me."

Opposed to this is impudence; as exemplified in the unjust judge. Luke xviii 2. "which feared not God, neither regarded man"

IN OUR MANNER OF CONVERSING WITH HIM, &c. The virtues herein comprised are veracity and candour.

VERACITY consists in speaking the truth to all who are entitled to hear it, and in matters which concern the good of our neighbour. Psal. xv. 2. "he that speaketh the truth in his heart." Prov. xii. 17. "he that speaketh truth, sheweth forth righteousness." v. 22. "lying lips are abomination to Jehovah, but they that deal truly are his delight." xx. 6. "a faithful man who can find?" Zech. viii. 16. "speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour." Eph. iv. 25. "putting

Of the holy angels in heaven

... Lowly reverent
Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground
With solemn adoration down they cast
Their crowns. *Paradise Lost*, III. 349.

Of the angels stationed to guard Paradise, at the appearance of Raphael:

.... To his state
And to his message high in honour rise,
For on some message high they guess'd him bound. V. 288.

Of Adam in the presence of Raphael.

.. . Though not aw'd,
Yet with submiss approach and rev'rence meek,
As to superior nature bowing low,
Thus said. *Ibid.* 358.

Of the Messiah when leaving the Father to go against the rebel angels:

..... He o'er his sceptre bowing, rose
From the right hand of glory where he sat. VI. 746.

Of Eve before the tree of knowledge:

. From the tree her step she turn'd;
But first low reverence done, as to the Pow'r
That dwelt within IX. 834.

Thus also in his early poem of Arcades:

——— The great mistress of yon princely shrine,
Whom with low reverence I adore as mine. 36.

away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another."

Opposed to this is, first, an improper concealment of the truth. I say improper, for it is not every concealment of the truth that is wrong, inasmuch as we are not on all occasions required to declare what we know; that concealment only is blameable, which proceeds from improper motives.

Secondly, falsehood. Psal. v. 6. "thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing." xii. 1. "the faithful fail from the children of men." Prov. xiii. 5. "a righteous man hateth lying; but a wicked man is loathsome, and cometh to shame." xix. 5. "he that speaketh lies shall not escape." John viii. 44. "when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." Rev. xxii. 15. "without are dogs..... and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie." Hence falsehood is not justifiable, even in the service of God. Job xiii. 7. "will ye speak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him?"

Falsehood is commonly defined to be a violation of truth either in word or deed, with the purpose of deceiving.[3] Since however not only the dissimulation or concealment of truth, but even direct untruth with the intention of deceiving, may in many instances be beneficial to our neighbour, it will be necessary to define falsehood somewhat more precisely; for I see no reason why the same rule should not apply to this subject, which holds good with regard to homicide, and other cases hereafter to be mentioned, our judgement of which is formed not so much from the actions themselves, as from the intention in which they originated. No rational person will deny that there are certain individuals whom we are fully justified in deceiving. Who would scruple to dissemble with a child, with a madman, with a sick person, with one in a state of intoxication, with an enemy, with one who has himself a design of deceiving us, with a robber? unless indeed we dispute the trite maxim, CUI NULLUM EST JUS, EI NULLA FIT INJURIA.[4] Yet, according to the above definition, it is not allowable to deceive either by word or deed in any of the cases

[3] Compare with the following pages Bp. Jeremy Taylor's elaborate inquiry concerning the lawfulness of lies, equivocations and mental reservations in particular cases. *Works*, vol. xii. 351

[4] This proverb is quoted by Milton in his *Treatise on Logic*; 'Quibus nullum est jus, iis nulla fit injuria.' Prose Works, Symmons' ed. vi. 247

stated. If I am under no obligation to restore to a madman a sword, or any other deposit, committed to me while in a sound mind, why should I be required to render the truth to one from whom I never received it, who is not entitled to demand it, and who will in all probability make a bad use of it? If every answer given to every interrogator with the intent of deceiving is to be accounted a falsehood, it must be allowed that nothing was more common even among the prophets and holiest of men.

Hence falsehood may perhaps be defined as follows: FALSEHOOD is incurred when ANY ONE, FROM A DISHONEST MOTIVE, EITHER PERVERTS THE TRUTH, OR UTTERS WHAT IS FALSE TO ONE TO WHOM IT IS HIS DUTY TO SPEAK THE TRUTH. Thus the devil, speaking in the serpent, was the first liar, Gen. iii. 4. So Cain subsequently, iv. 9. and Sarah xviii. 15. for when the angels were justly angry with her, she evaded a candid confession of her fault. So also Abraham, xii. 13. and chap. xx. for his fiction concerning Sarah, as he might have learned from his previous experience in Egypt, though intended only for the preservation of his own life, was of a nature to lead others into a dangerous error, and a desire of what was not their own, through ignorance of the fact. Thus too David in his flight from Saul, 1 Sam. xxi. 3. inasmuch as he ought not to have concealed from the priest his situation with respect to the king, or to have exposed his host to danger. Ananias and Sapphira were guilty of the same crime, Acts v.

It follows from this definition, first, that parables, hyperboles, apologies and ironical modes of speech are not falsehoods, inasmuch as their object is not deception, but instruction. In this respect it agrees with the common definition. 1 Kings xviii. 27. "it came to pass that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud, for he is a God—." xxii. 15. "he answered him, Go and prosper, for Jehovah shall deliver it into the hand of the king." Secondly, that in the proper sense of the word deceit, no one can be deceived without being at the same time injured. When therefore, instead of injuring a person by a false statement, we either confer on him a positive benefit, or prevent him from inflicting or suffering injury, we are so far from being guilty of deceit towards him, however often the fiction may be repeated, that we ought rather to be considered as doing him a service against his will. Thirdly, it is universally

admitted that feints and stratagems in war, when unaccompanied by perjury or breach of faith, do not fall under the description of falsehood. Now this admission is evidently fatal to the vulgar definition; inasmuch as it is scarcely possible to execute any of the artifices of war, without openly uttering the greatest untruths with the indisputable intention of deceiving; by which, according to the definition, the sin of falsehood is incurred. It is better therefore to say that stratagems, though coupled with falsehood, are lawful for the cause above assigned, namely, that where we are not under an obligation to speak the truth, there can be no reason why we should not, when occasion requires it, utter even what is false; nor do I perceive why this should be more allowable in war than in peace, especially in cases where, by an honest and beneficial kind of falsehood, we may be enabled to avert injury or danger from ourselves or our neighbour.

The denunciations against falsehood, therefore, which are cited from Scripture, are to be understood only of such violations of truth as are derogatory to the glory of God, or injurious to ourselves or our neighbour. Of this class, besides what were quoted above, are the following texts: Lev. xix. 11. "ye shall not deal falsely, neither lie one to another." Psal. ci. 7. "he that worketh deceit shall not tarry within my house; he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight." Prov. vi. 16, 17. "yea, seven are an abomination unto him, a proud look, a lying tongue—." Jer. ix. 5. "they will deceive every man his neighbour, and will not speak the truth." In these and similar passages we are undoubtedly commanded to speak the truth; but to whom? not to an enemy, not to a madman, not to an oppressor, not to an assassin, but to *our neighbour*, to one with whom we are connected by the bonds of peace and social fellowship. If then it is to our neighbour only that we are commanded to speak the truth, it is evident that we are not forbidden to utter what is false, if requisite, to such as do not deserve that name. Should any one be of a contrary opinion, I would ask him, by which of the commandments falsehood is prohibited? He will answer, doubtless, by the ninth. Let him only repeat the words of that commandment, and he will be a convert to my opinion; for nothing is there prohibited but what is injurious to our neighbour; it follows, therefore, that a falsehood productive of no evil to him, if

Under falsehood is included false witness; which is forbidden Exod. xx. 16. "thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." xxiii. 1. "put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness." It is again prohibited Deut. xix. 16, &c. under a most severe penalty; "if a false witness rise up against any man ..... then shall ye do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his brother." Prov. xix. 5. "a false witness shall not be unpunished." xxv. 18. "a man that beareth false witness against his neighbour is a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow."

The other virtue included in a regard to the good name of our neighbour, whether present or absent, is CANDOUR; whereby we cheerfully acknowledge the gifts of God in our neighbour, and interpret all his words and actions in a favourable sense. Matt. vii. 1. "judge not, that ye be not judged."

Candour, however, is usually spoken of under the general name of charity or love. 1 Cor. xiii. 5, 6. "charity thinketh no evil..... rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things." Prov. x. 12. "love covereth all sins." xvii. 9. "he that covereth a transgression seeketh love." The same virtue appears also to be described under the name of equity or moderation. Philipp. iv. 5. "let your moderation be known unto all men; the Lord is at hand." Eccles. x. 4. "yielding pacifieth great offences."

Opposed to this is, first, evil surmising. 1 Sam. i. 14. "how long wilt thou be drunken?" xxii. 8. "that all of you have conspired against me—." 2 Sam. x. 3. "hath not David sent his servants unto thee to search the city—?" Acts xxviii. 4. "when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand ." 1 Tim. vi. 4. "whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings—."

Secondly, a prying into the faults of others, and a precipitancy in passing judgment upon them, Matt. vii. 3. "why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye?"

Thirdly, tale-bearing. Exod. xxiii. 1. "thou shalt not raise

reformation, sought out new Limboes and new Hells wherein they might include our books also among the number of their damned.' *Areopagitica*, Prose Works, II 62. To which may be added *Apology for Smectymnuus*, III 159. 'Te Deum has a smatch in it of limbus patrum; as if Christ had not 'opened the kingdom of heaven," before he had 'overcome the sharpness of death."'

command likewise, borrowed from the Egyptians jewels of gold and silver and raiment, doubtless under a promise of restoring them, though with the secret purpose of deception; for by what obligation were they bound to keep faith with the enemies of God, the transgressors of the laws of hospitality, and the usurpers, for so long a period, of the property of those who now despoiled them? Rahab, whose magnanimous falsehood recorded Josh. ii. 4, 5. was no breach of duty, inasmuch as she only deceived those whom God willed to be deceived, though her own countrymen and magistrates, and preserved those whom God willed to be preserved, rightly preferring religious to civil obligations. Ehud, who deceived Eglon in two several instances, Judges iii. 19, 20. and that justifiably, considering that he was dealing with an enemy, and that he acted under the command of God himself.[7] Jael, by whose enticements Sisera perished, Judges iv. 18, 19. although he was less her personal enemy than the enemy of God. Junius, indeed, considers this as a pious fraud, not as a falsehood; which is a distinction without a difference.[8] Jonathan, who was prevailed upon to assign a fictitious reason for the absence of David, 1 Sam. xx. 6, 28. thinking it better to preserve the life of the innocent than to abet his father in an act of cruelty; and considering that the duties of charity were better fulfilled by favouring the escape of a friend under wrongful accusation, though at the expense of veracity, than by disclosing the truth unnecessarily, in obedience to the commands of a parent, for the purpose of aiding in the commission of a crime. All these, with numberless other saints, by a more careful inquiry into the nature of truth are rescued, as it were, from the new *limbus patrum*[9] to which the vulgar definition had consigned them.

[7] 'Hunc tamen dum, publice munerantur ut regem suum, interficiant per insidias ut hostem. Verum Ehudes, qui interfecit, Dei monitu id fecisse creditur.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, Symmons' ed. V. 100.

[8] 'Dissimulavit enim, sed sine mendacio, et pia fraude intercepit Jahel hostem Domini, quam rem Spiritus Sanctus probat, infra cap. v. 4.' Junius in loc.

[9] This appears to be a favourite allusion with Milton.

> ..... All these, upwhirl'd aloft,
> Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
> Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd
> The Paradise of Fools. *Paradise Lost*, III. 493.

[10] That mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of

cause ye go to law one with another, why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?"

Opposed to candour, on the other side, are, first, flattery, Job xxxii. 21, 22. "let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man." Psal. xii. 3. "Jehovah shall cut off all flattering lips." Prov. xxvi. 28. "a flattering mouth worketh ruin." xxvii. 6. "the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." v. 14. "he that blesseth his friend with a loud voice," &c. xxix. 5. "a man that flattereth his neighbour," &c. 1 Thess. ii. 5. "neither at any time used we flattering words."

Secondly, unmerited praise or blame. Prov. iii. 31. "envy thou not the oppressor." xvii. 15. "he that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to Jehovah." xxiii. 17. "let not thine heart envy sinners." xxiv. 24. "he that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse." Isai. v. 20. "woe unto them that call evil good—." xxxii. 5, 8. "the vile person shall be no more called liberal—."

Allied to candour are simplicity, faithfulness, gravity, taciturnity, courteousness, urbanity, freedom of speech, and the spirit of admonition.

Simplicity consists in an ingenuous and open dealing with our neighbour. Psal. cxvi. 6. "Jehovah preserveth the simple." Matt. x. 16. "be ye harmless as doves." xix. 14. "suffer little children.... for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Mark x. 16. "whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein." 1 Cor. xiv. 20. "be not children in understanding; howbeit, in malice be ye children." 2 Cor. i. 12. "that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world." xi. 3. "I fear, lest by any means... your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ."

Opposed to this are, first, duplicity. Psal. v. 6. "Jehovah will abhor the deceitful man." xii 3. "with a double heart do they speak." xxviii. 3, &c. "which speak peace to their neighbours, but mischief is in their heart." cxx. 2. "deliver my soul from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue." Prov. iii. 29. "devise not evil against thy neighbour." xvii. 20. "he

that hath a perverse tongue falleth into mischief." xvi. 24, &c. "he that hateth, dissembleth with his lips." v. 28. "a lying tongue hateth those that are afflicted by it." Matt. ii. 8. "go and search diligently for the young child—."

Secondly, credulity. Prov. xiv. 15. "the simple believeth every word."

FAITHFULNESS is shown in the performance of promises, and the safe custody of secrets. Psal. xv. 4 "he that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." Prov. xi. 13. "he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth the matter." xx. 19. "he that goeth about as a tale-bearer revealeth secrets, therefore meddle not with him—." xxv. 9. "discover not a secret to another."

It has been made matter of inquiry,[1] whether it be lawful to revoke a promise once made, or to recal a benefit once conferred. This would seem to be allowable, where the person on whom the promise or benefit was bestowed proves himself unworthy of our kindness. Thus the lord in the parable exacted the debt from his servant, in punishment for his cruelty towards his fellow-servant, although he had before forgiven it him; Matt. xviii. 27, 32, 34.

Opposed to this are, first, precipitancy in making a promise, without due consideration of circumstances Matt. xxvi 35. "though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee."

Secondly, talkativeness. Prov. xi. 13. "a tale-bearer revealeth secrets."

Thirdly, treachery; of which Judas Iscariot is a signal instance.

GRAVITY consists in an habitual self-government of speech and action, with a dignity of look and manner, befitting a man of holiness and probity.[2] Prov. xvi. 24. "wisdom is before him that hath understanding." Eccles. viii. 1. "a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine—."

[1] See Seneca *De Beneficiis*, Lib. iv. c. 34, 35. Thomas Aquinas, 22. Sec. 110. Art. 35.

[2] Richardson says that Milton 'had a gravity in his temper, not melancholy, or not till the latter part of his life, not sour, morose, or ill-natured; but a certain severity of mind, a mind not condescending to little things.' *Remarks*, p. xv 'In his whole deportment,' says Symmons, 'there was visible a certain dignity of mind, and a something of conscious superiority, which could not at all times be suppressed or wholly withdrawn from observation. His temper was grave, without any taint of melancholy.' Vol. VII. p. 512.

Opposed to this is levity. Prov. xvi. 22. "the instruction of fools is folly." xvii 24. "the eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth." Eccles. x. 2. "a wise man's heart is at his right hand, but a fool's heart at his left."

TACITURNITY preserves a due moderation in our speech. Prov. x 19. "he that refraineth his lips is wise." xiii. 3. "he that openeth wide his lips, shall have destruction." xvii. 28. "even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wise; and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding."

Opposed to this are, first, loquacity.[3] Prov. x. 14. "the mouth of the foolish is near destruction." v. 19. "in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin." xviii. 7. "a fool's lips are the snare of his soul." xxix. 20. "seest thou a man that is hasty in his words? there is more hope of a fool than of him." James iii. 8. "the tongue can no man tame."

Secondly, foolish talking. Matt. xii. 36. "every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement." Eph. v. 4. "foolish talking."

Thirdly, excess of taciturnity. 2 Kings vii. 9. "this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace."

COURTEOUSNESS consists in affability and readiness of access.[4] 1 Pet. iii. 8. "be ye pitiful, courteous."

> [3] .. .. my crime,
> Shameful garrulity . ..... ,
> .... .. a sin
> That Gentiles in their parables condemn,
> To their abyss and horrid pains confin'd.
>
> *Samson Agonistes*, 490.

[4] Compare on this head, and with the three next paragraphs, the following passages from Symmons. 'Of this great man the manners are universally allowed to have been affable and graceful, the conversation cheerful, instructive, and engaging. His youngest daughter.. affirmed that he was delightful company, the life of the conversation, not only on account of his flow of subject, but of his unaffected cheerfulness and civility.' Isaac Vossius describes him as 'comem, affabilem, multisque aliis præditum virtutibus' Burmann. *Syll.* III. 618. So also N. Heinsius; 'Virum esse mihi comique ingenio aiunt, quique aliam non habuisse se causam profitetur Scribonium acerbe insectandi, quam quod ille et viros e maximis celeberrimisque multos nihil benignius exceperit, et quod in universam Anglorum gentem convicius atrocissimis injuriisque valde fuerit.' Burmann. *Syll.* III. 276. Salmasius is here alluded to under the name of Scribonius.

Opposed to this are, first, churlishness. 1 Sam. xxv. 17. 'he is such a son of Belial, that a man cannot speak to him." Secondly, frowardness. Prov. iv. 24. "put away from thee a froward mouth." xiv. 3. "in the mouth of the foolish is a rod of pride." xvi. 26. "he that laboureth, laboureth for himself; for his mouth craveth it of him." xviii. 6. "a fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for strokes." xxvii. 22. "though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him."

Thirdly, false or constrained courtesy; as that of Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. 3, 4. Psal. xii. 3. "Jehovah shall cut off all flattering lips."

URBANITY comprehends not only the innocent refinements and elegances of conversation, but acuteness and appropriateness of observation or reply. Prov. xxiv. 26. "every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer." xxv. 1. "a word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver." 1 Kings xviii. 27. "Elijah mocked them—." Col. iv. 6. "let your speech be always with grace seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man."

Opposed to this are obscenity and double meanings. Eph. iv. 6. "let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth." v 4. "neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting,[5] which are not convenient." Col. iii. 8. "but now ye also put off all these; anger.... filthy communication out of your mouth." Obscenity, properly speaking, consists neither in word nor in action, but in the filthiness of his mind, who out of derision or wantonness perverts them from their proper import. Hence those expressions in the Hebrew Scriptures, for which the Jewish commentators substitute others in the margin which they esteem more decent, are not to be considered as obscene, but are to be attributed to the

[5] εὐτραπελία. 'Nomen medium, proprie significat concinnam mutationem, et intra virtutes morales ab Aristotele numeratur, urbanitas. Sed in Novo Testamento in malam partem usurpatur pro scurrilitate. Eam vocem pro scurrilitate apostolus posuit, quod plerumque qui urbanitatem affectant, a medio virtutis aberrantes, ad scurrilitatem declinent. Qua in significatione etiam Pindarus poeta Græcam vocem usurpasse legitur. Itaque recte noster interpres *scurrilitatem* vertit.' Estius in loc. See Leigh's *Critica Sacra*, Schleusner, Wetstein, Elsner, and Macknight.

vehemence or indignation of the speaker.[6] Neither are the words of Deut xxii 17. to be regarded as indecent; "they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city."

FREEDOM OF SPEECH consists in speaking the truth with boldness. Exod. xi. 8. "all these thy servants shall come down unto me." Job. xii. 3. "I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you; yea, who knoweth not such things as these?" 1 Sam xiii. 13. "Samuel said unto Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou hast not kept the commandment of Jehovah." Psal. cxix 42. "so shall I have wherewith to answer him that reproacheth me." Prov. xxvi. 5. "answer a fool according to his folly." This virtue is exemplified in Elijah and Elisha, 2 Kings vi. 32. and in many others; in Hanani, 2 Chron. xvi. 7. in Zechariah. xxiv. 20. Isai. i. 10, 23. "hear the word of Jehovah... thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves." Jer. xiii. 18. "say unto the king and to the queen, Humble yourselves, sit down." Ezek. xxi. 25. "and thou, profane wicked prince of Israel—." Micah vii. 4. "the best of them is a briar." Matt. iii. 7. "O generation of vipers." John xiv. 4. "it is not lawful for thee to have her." Luke xiii. 32. "tell that fox."

[6] 'The Spirit of God, who is purity itself, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civil at other times to be spoken, &c. &c., ...whereas God, who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake, otherwise that plain word might have easily been forborn; which the masoreths and rabbinical scholiasts not well attending, have often used to blur the margent with Keri instead of Ketiv, and gave us this insulse rule out of their Talmud, "that all words which in the law are written obscenely, must be changed to more civil words;" fools, who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write. *Apology for Smectymnuus* Prose Works, III 131. 'Ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual Ketiv.' *Areopagitica*, Ibid. II. 69. 'Tu fortasse, ut sunt fere hypocritæ, verbis tetrici rebus obscœni, ne ipsum quidem Mosen ista noxa immunem abs te dimiseris; cum alibi sæpius, tum etiam ubi Phineæ hasta qua parte mulierem transfixerit, si qua fides Hebræis, aperte narrat.... Non te Salomonis Euphemismi censorem, non prophetarum scripta tuam turpiculi immo nonnunquam plane obscœni censuram effugerint, quoties Masorethis et Rabbinis, pro eo quod diserte scriptum est, suum libet Keri adscribere. Ad me quod attinet, fateor malle me cum sacris scriptoribus εὐθυρρήμονα, quem cum futilibus Rabbinis εὐσχήμονα esse.' *Auctoris pro se Defensio*, Prose Works, Symmons' ed. V. 299.

John vii. 7. "me it hateth, because I testify of it that the works thereof are evil." xviii. 37. "to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth." Acts xiii. 10. "O full of all subtilty," &c. xix. 8, 9. "he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing," &c. xxiii. 3. "thou whited wall." Eph. vi. 20. "that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak." Tit. i. 12. "the Cretians are alway liars."

Opposed to this is timidity in speaking the truth. 1 Sam. iii. 15. "Samuel feared to show Eli the vision."

The spirit of admonition is that by which we freely warn sinners of their danger, without respect of persons. Gen. xxxvii. 2. "Joseph brought unto his father their evil report." Levit. v. 1. "if a soul sin . . . if he do not utter it, then he shall bear iniquity." xix. 17. "thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou shalt in anywise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him." Psal. cxli. 5. "let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness." Prov. vi. 23. "reproofs of instruction are the way of life." x. 17. "he that refuseth reproof erreth." xii. 1. "he that hateth reproof is brutish." xiii. 18. "he that regardeth reproof shall be honoured." xv. 5. "he that regardeth reproof is prudent." v. 10. "he that hateth reproof shall die." v. 32. "he that refuseth instruction despiseth his own soul." xvii. 10. "a reproof entereth more into a wise man, than an hundred stripes into a fool." xxiv. 25. "to them that rebuke him shall be delight." xxv. 12 "as an ear-ring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, so is a wise reprover upon an obedient ear." xxvii. 6. "faithful are the wounds of a friend." xxviii. 23. "he that rebuketh a man afterward shall find more favour—." xxix. 1. "he that being often reproved hardeneth his neck—." Eccles. vii. 5. "it is better to hear the rebuke of the wise than—." Matt. xvi. 23. "get thee behind me, Satan" John iii. 19. "men loved darkness rather than light." 1 Cor. i. 11. "it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe," &c. 2 Cor. vii. 8. "though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent," &c. Heb. iii. 13. "exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day." James v. 19, 20. "if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him—." Admonition however is not to be thrown

away on the scornful and obstinate. Psal. lviii. 4, 5. "they are like the deaf adder which stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers." Prov. ix. 7, 8. "he that reproveth a scorner getteth to himself shame ... reprove not a scorner." xiii. 1. "a scorner heareth not rebuke." xxvi. 4. "answer not a fool according to his folly." xxix. 9. "if a wise man contendeth with a foolish man, whether he rage or laugh, there is no rest." 2 Chron. xxv. 16. "then the prophet forbare—."

CHAP. XIV.—The second Class of special Duties towards our Neighbour continued.

The virtues by which we promote the WORLDLY INTERESTS OF OUR NEIGHBOUR, are integrity and beneficence.

INTEGRITY consists in refraining from the property of others, which is also called abstinence; and in honesty and uprightness as regards our dealings with our neighbour, which is called commutative justice. Psal. xv 2. "he that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness."

ABSTINENCE is exemplified in Moses, Numb. xvi. 15. "I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them;" and in Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 3. "whose ox have I taken?" On this subject laws are given Deut. xxiii. 24, 25. "when thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard," &c.

The opposites to this are, first, theft. Exod. xx. 15. "thou shalt not steal." See also Levit. xix. 11. Prov. xxix. 24. "whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul." xxii. 28. "remove not the ancient land-mark." See also xxiii. 10. This was the crime of Judas Iscariot, John xii. 6. Eph. iv. 28. "let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour." Laws against theft are given Exod. xxii. Prov. vi. 30. "men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry." xxviii. 24. "whoso robbeth his father or mother," &c. Zech. v. 3. "every one that stealeth shall be cut off—."

Secondly, fraud. Levit. xix. 11. "ye shall not deal falsely one to another." Under the law, fraud could not be expiated unless restitution were previously made. Levit. vi. 5, &c. "he shall even restore it in the principal .... and he shall bring his trespass offering unto Jehovah." Prov. xxi. 6. "the getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a vanity—." 1 Thess.

iv. 6. "that no man go beyond or defraud his brother in any matter."

Thirdly, oppression and robbery. Job. v. 15. "he saveth the poor from the hand of the mighty." xx. 18. 19. "because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor—." Prov. xiv. 31. "he that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his neighbour." xxii. 22, 23. "rob not the poor," &c. xxx. 14. "there is a generation whose teeth are as swords." Eccles. v. 8. "if thou seest the oppression of the poor," &c. vii. 7. "surely oppression maketh a wise man mad." Isai. iii. 14. "the spoil of the poor is in your houses." v. 7, 8. "woe unto them that join house to house," &c. Jer. ii. 34. "in thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the poor innocents." xxii. 13, &c. "woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness—." Neh. v. 8. "we after our ability have redeemed our brethren—." Amos iv. 1. "hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, which oppress the poor—." v. 11. "forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor—." viii. 4, 5, &c. "hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail—." Micah ii. 1, 2. "they covet fields, and take them by violence." iii. 2, 3. "who pluck the skin off from them—."

Fourthly, injury. Exod. xxi. 33. "if an ox or an ass fall therein—." v. 35, 36. "if one man's ox hurt another's . . or if it be known that the ox hath used to push in times past," &c. xxii. 5, 6. "if a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten," &c.

Fifthly, man-stealing. Exod. xxi. 16. "he that stealeth a man, or selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Deut. xxiv. 7. "if a man be found stealing any of his brethren," &c. 1 Tim. i. 10. "men-stealers."

Under COMMUTATIVE JUSTICE are included all transactions of purchase and sale, of letting and hire, of lending and borrowing, of keeping and restoring deposits.

Transactions of sale and purchase. Levit. xix. 36. "just balances, just weights—." xxv. 14. "if thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another." Prov. xvi. 11. "a just weight and balance are Jehovah's; all the weights of the bag are his work."

To justice in matters of sale and purchase, are opposed various frauds. Prov. xi. 26. "he that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him." Ezek. xxviii. 19. "by the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence—." So also when counterfeit or adulterated goods are sold for genuine. Amos viii. 6. "that we may sell the refuse of the wheat." Or when false weights and measures are employed. Levit. xix. 35. "ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure." Deut. xxv. 13—15. "thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small—." Prov. xi. 1. "a false balance is abomination to Jehovah." xx. 10. "divers weights and divers measures, both of them are alike abomination to Jehovah." See also v. 23. Hos. xii. 7. "he is a merchant, the balances of deceit are in his hand." Amos viii. 5. "making the ephah small." Micah vi. 11. "shall I count them pure with the wicked balances?" Or when the buyer, on his part, uses dishonest artifices in the conclusion of a bargain. Prov. xx. 14. "it is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer."

Transactions of letting or hire. Levit. xix. 13. "the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning." Exod. xxii. 15. "if it be an hired thing, it came for his hire." Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. "thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in the land within thy gates." Mal. iii. 5. "against those that oppress the hireling in his wages." James v. 4. "behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth."

Lending and borrowing. Deut. xv. 7, &c. "if there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren .... thou shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth." Psal. xxxvii. 26. "he is ever merciful, and lendeth." cxii. 5. "a good man sheweth favour, and lendeth." Matt. v. 42. "from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away." Luke vi. 35. "lend, hoping for nothing again." Prov. xix. 17. "he that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth to Jehovah." The case of loans to such as are not poor is different. Exod. xxii. 14. "if a man borrow ought of his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die," &c. Psal. xxxvii. 21. "the wicked borroweth and payeth not again."

In loans, justice is violated by the exaction of immoderate interest; under which denomination all interest is included, which is taken from the poor. Exod. xxii. 25. "if thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer." Levit. xxv. 35, 36. "if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger or a sojourner, that he may live with thee: take thou no usury of him, or increase; but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee." This is the meaning of the command in Deut. xxiii. 19. "thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury."

As however much difference of opinion exists with regard to usury, and as the discussion belongs properly to this place, we will consider briefly what is to be determined on the subject. It is the opinion of most, that usury is not in all cases unlawful, but that its legality or illegality is determined by the purpose for which it is exacted, the rate of interest, and the party by whom it is paid; that with regard to the party, it may be lawfully received from any one possessed of sufficient property for payment; that the rate of interest should be such as is consistent with equity at least, if not with charity; and that in exacting it we should have a view not to our own interests exclusively, but also to those of our neighbour. Where these conditions are observed, they maintain that usury is perfectly allowable; nor is it without reason that these limitations are added, since without these there is scarcely any species of compact or commercial intercourse which can be considered as lawful. That usury is in itself equally justifiable with any other kind of civil contract, is evident fom the following considerations,[7] first, that if it were in itself reprehensible, God would not have permitted the Israelites to lend upon usury to strangers, Deut. xxiii. 20. especially as he elsewhere commands them to do no hurt to the stranger, but on the contrary to assist him with every kind of good office, especially in case of poverty. Secondly, if it be lawful to receive profit for the use

[7] 'Usury, so much as is permitted by the magistrate, and demanded with common equity, is neither against the word of God, nor the rule of charity; as hath been often discussed by men of eminent learning and judgment.' *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Prose Works, III. 245.

of cattle, lands, houses, and the like, why not of money also? which, when borrowed, as it often is, not from necessity, but for purposes of gain, is apt to be more profitable to the borrower than to the lender. It is true that God prohibited the Israelites from lending upon usury on the produce of their land; but this was for a reason purely ceremonial, in like manner as he forbad them to sell their land in perpetuity. Levit. xxv. 23. Under the gospel, therefore, that usury only is to be condemned which is taken from the poor, or of which the sole object is gain, and which is exacted without a regard to charity and justice; even as any other species of lucrative commerce carried on in the same spirit would be equally reprehensible, and equally entitled to the Hebrew name נֶשֶׁךְ, signifying *a bite*. This therefore is the usury prohibited Exod. xxii. 25. "if thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer." Levit. xxv. 35—37. as above. These are the earliest passages in which the subject occurs; they ought therefore to be considered as illustrating by anticipation those which come after, and the exception contained in them as applying equally to all other occasions on which usury is mentioned: Deut. xxiii. 19. as above. Psal. xv. 5. "he that putteth not out his money to usury.... shall never be moved." Prov. xxviii. 8. "he that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor." Ezek. xviii. 8. "he that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity—."

Justice as regards the safe custody of property, is concerned in the demand or restitution of pledges, and of deposits in trust;[8] on which subject see Exod. xxii. 7. "if a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep," &c. See also v. 10, 11. Ezek. xviii. 7. "hath not oppressed any, but

[8] The biographers of Milton relate, that he himself suffered no inconsiderable injury from the want of good faith in those to whom he had entrusted a large part of his fortune. 'He sustained such losses as might well have broke any person less frugal and temperate than himself: no less than 2000*l.* which he put for security and improvement into the excise office, but neglecting to recal it in time, could never after get it out, with all the power and interest he had in the great ones of those times; besides another great sum, by mismanagement and for want of good advice.' *Life of Milton* by Edward Philips. No. II. Appendix to Godwin's *Lives of Edward and John Philips*, p. 382.

hath restored to the debtor his pledge." Under what limitations a pledge may be received from a poor man, is seen Exod. xxii. 26. "if thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge," &c. Deut. xxiv. 6. "no man shall take the upper or nether millstone to pledge." The same chapter enjoins a regard to humanity in the taking of pledges, v. 10. "thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge."

Thus far of commutative justice. Under the same head may be classed MODERATION, which consists in voluntarily conceding some portion of an acknowledged right, or in abandoning it altogether. Gen. xiii. 9. "if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

BENEFICENCE consists in rendering willing assistance to our neighbour out of our own abundance; particularly to the poor within our reach. Levit. xix. 9. "when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest." xxv. 35. "if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger or sojourner; that he may live with thee." Prov. iii. 27, 28. "withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it; say not unto thy neighbour, Go, and come again, and to-morrow I will give, when thou hast it by thee." Luke vi. 30. "give to every one that asketh of thee." v. 38. "give, and it shall be given unto you." Gal. vi. 10. "as we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith." 1 Thess. v. 15. "ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves and to all men." Heb. xiii. 16. "to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." Concerning the proper mode of receiving benefits, see above on MAGNANIMITY.

Beneficence, as shown in public distributions of any kind, is called LIBERALITY. Psal. cxii. 5. "a good man sheweth favour, and lendeth" (*gratiose largitur*, Tremell.) Prov. xi. 24. 25. "there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth—." xxi. 26. "the righteous giveth and spareth not." Eccles. xi. 1. "cast thy bread on the waters."

Opposed to liberality are, first, niggardliness, which gives

nothing, or sparingly, or with a grudging mind. Prov. xxiii. 4.—8. "eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainty meats."

Secondly, prodigality. Prov. xxi. 20. "there is treasure to be desired, and oil in the dwelling of the wise, but a foolish man spendeth it up."

Beneficence, whether private or public, when exercised on an extraordinary scale, is called MAGNIFICENCE. This is exemplified in David, 1 Chron. xxix. 2. "I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God, the gold for things to be made of gold ... moreover because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of my own proper good," &c. and in the Jews who returned from captivity, Ezra ii. 68, 69. "some offered freely for the house of God to set it up in its place; they gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work."

Corresponding with beneficence is GRATITUDE, which is shewn in the requital, or, where this is impossible, in the thankful sense of a kindness. 2 Sam. ix. i. "David said, Is there yet any that is left of the house of Saul, that I may shew him kindness for Jonathan's sake?" xix. 34, &c. "the king said unto Barzillai, Come thou over with me, and I will feed thee with me—." 1 Kings ii. 7. "shew kindness unto the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite."

Opposed to this is ingratitude. Prov. xvii. 13. "whoso rewardeth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house." Eccles. ix. 15. "he by his wisdom delivered the city, yet no man remembered that same poor man."

CHAP. XV.—OF THE RECIPROCAL DUTIES OF MAN TOWARDS HIS NEIGHBOUR AND SPECIALLY OF PRIVATE DUTIES.

THUS far we have treated of the virtues or special duties which man owes to his neighbour simply as such; we are next to consider those which originate in circumstances of particular relationship. These duties are either private or public.

The private duties are partly domestic, and partly such as are exercised towards those not of our own house. Gen. xviii. 19.

"I know him, that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of Jehovah." 1 Tim. v. 8. "if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

Under domestic duties are comprehended the reciprocal obligations of husband and wife, parent and child, brethren and kinsmen, master and servant.

THE DUTIES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE are mutual or personal.

Mutual duties. 1 Cor. vii. 3. "let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence, and likewise also the wife unto the husband."

The personal duties appertaining to either party respectively are, first, those of the husband. Exod xxi. 10, 11. "her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish; and if he do not these three unto her," &c. Prov. v. 18, 19. "rejoice with the wife of thy youth." Esther i. 22. "every man should bear rule in his own house." 1 Cor. xi. 3. "I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man." Eph. v. 25. "husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church." Col. iii. 19. "husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them." 1 Pet. iii. 7. "likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel." The contrary is reproved Mal. ii. 13, 14, &c. "Jehovah hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously—." Prov. v. 20, 21. "why wilt thou, my son, be ravished with a strange woman?"

Personal duties of the wife. Prov. xiv. 1. "every wise woman buildeth her house." xix. 14. "a prudent wife is from Jehovah." xxxi. 11, &c. "the heart of her husband doth safely trust in her." 1 Cor. xi. 3, &c. "the woman is the glory of the man; for the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man." Eph. v. 22—24. "wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, and he is the Saviour of the body; therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing." Col. iii. 18. "wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord."

Tit. ii. 4, 5. "that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed." 1 Pet. iii. 1, &c. "likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands," &c. The same is implied in the original formation of the woman: Gen. ii. 22. "the rib which Jehovah had taken from man, made he a woman;" it cannot therefore be fitting that a single member, and that not one of the most important, should be independent of the whole body, and even of the head. Finally, such is the express declaration of God: Gen. iii. 16. "he shall rule over thee."[9]

Offences against these duties. Exod. iv. 25. "a bloody husband art thou to me." Job ii. 9. "then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity?" &c. 2 Sam. vi. 20. "Michal the daughter of Saul came out to meet David, and said," &c. Prov. ix. 13. "a foolish woman is clamorous." vii. 11. "her feet abide not in her house."[1] xiv. 1. "the foolish plucketh it down with her hands." xix. 13. "the

[9] My author and disposer, what thou bidd'st
Unargu'd I obey; so God ordains;
God is thy law, thou mine. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 635.

Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey
Before his voice, or was she made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
Wherein God set thee above her made of thee
And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd
Hers in all real dignity. X. 145.

. . . . . To thy husband's will
Thine shall submit; he over thee shall rule. *Ibid.* 195.

See also *Tetrachordon:* 'But St. Paul ends the controversy———that indelible character of priority which God crowned him with.' Prose Works, II. 324, 325. See Book I. p 29.

[1] 'Nevertheless, as I find that Grotius on this place hath observed, the Christian emperors, Theodosius the second and Justinian, men of high wisdom and reputed piety, decreed it to be a divorcive fornication, if the wife attempted either against the knowledge, or obstinately against the will of her husband, such things as gave open suspicion of adulterizing, as the wilful haunting of feasts, and invitations with men not of her near kindred, the lying forth of her house without probable cause, the frequenting of theatres against her husband's mind,' &c. *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, III. 256.

contentions of a wife are a continual dropping." See also xxvii. 15. xxi. 9. "it is better to dwell in a corner of the house-top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house." v. 19. "it is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and an angry woman." See also xxv. 24. Eccles. vii. 26. "I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her." Above all, adultery: Deut. xxii. 14, 20. "I took this woman, and when I came unto her, I found her not a maid.... if this thing be true," &c.

THE DUTIES OF PARENTS are inculcated Deut. iv. 9. "teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons." vi. 6, 7. "these words which I command thee this day shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children." Prov. xiii. 24. "he that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes." Prov. xix. 18. "chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying." xxii. 6. "train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." v. 15. "foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him." xxiii. 13, 14. "withhold not correction from the child; for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die: thou shalt beat him with the rod, and deliver his soul from hell." xxix. 15, 17. "the rod and reproof give wisdom." Lam. iii. 27, 28. "it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." Deut. xxi. 18—20. "if a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not hearken unto them." Eph. vi. 4. "ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Coloss. iii. 21. "fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged."

The opposites are, first, unbounded indulgence; as that of Eli the priest, 1 Sam. ii. and of David towards his sons Absalom and Adonijah, 1 Kings i. 6. "whom his father had not displeased at any time in saying, Why hast thou done so?" Gen. xxv. 28. "Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison."

Secondly, excessive severity.[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 44. "thou shalt surely die, Jonathan."

THE DUTIES OF CHILDREN are prescribed Gen. ix. 23. "Shem and Japheth took a garment—." xxiv. 15, &c. "with her pitcher upon her shoulder—." xxix. 9. "Rachel came with her father's sheep." Exod. ii. 16. "they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock." xviii. 7. "Moses went out to meet his father-in-law." xx. 12. "honour thy father and thy mother." Lev. xix. 3. "ye

[2] Milton has been accused of treating his children with severity, but the charge seems to have been unfounded. From one instance of his alleged harshness his character has been vindicated by Mrs. Hannah More, in her *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*. It seems indeed that there are good grounds for believing that Milton himself had reason to complain of the misconduct and inattention of his daughters. His nuncupative will contains the following passage.—'The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them, they having been very undutifull to me.' Milton's *Poetical Works*; Hawkins's Edition, p. cxv. Christopher Milton, the testator's brother, proves as follows in his examination respecting the validity of this will in the Prerogative Court. 'The said deceased was then ill of the goute, and what he then spoke touching his will was in a very calme manner, only [he] complained, but without passion, that his children had been unkind to him.'.....'He knoweth not how the parties mins ring these interrogatories frequent the church, or in what manner of behaviour of life and conversacion they are of, they living apart from their father four or five yeares last past; and as touching his the deceased's displeasure with them, he only heard him say at the tyme of declaring of his will, that they were undutifull and unkind to him, not expressing any particulars; but in former tymes he hath herd him complain that they were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of deserteing him.' The testimony of Elizabeth Fisher, Milton's maid-servant, contains some curious additional particulars. 'This respondent hath heard the deceased dec are his displeasure against the parties ministrant his children; and particularly the deceased declared to this respondent that a little before he was marryed to Elizabeth Milton, his own relict, a former maid-servant of his told Mary, one of the deceased's daughters, and one of the ministrants, that she heard the deceased was to be marryed, to which the said Mary replyed to the said maid-servant, that that was no news to heare of his wedding, but if shee could heare of his death that was something: and further told this respondent, that all his said children did combine together and counsel his maid-servant to cheat him the deceased in her markettings, and that his said children had made away some of his bookes, and would have sold the rest of his bookes to the dunghill women, or hee the deceased spoke words to this respondent to the selfesame effect and purpose.'

shall fear every man his mother and his father." 1 Sam. xx, 32. "Jonathan answered Saul his father, and said unto him. Wherefore shall he be slain? what hath he done?" 1 Kings ii. 19. "Bathsheba went unto king Solomon ... and the king rose up to meet her." Prov. i. 8. "my son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother." vi. 20, 21. "my son, keep thy father's commandment." xxiii. 22, 24, 25. "hearken unto thy father that begat thee, and despise not thy mother when she is old." Jer. xxxv. 5, 6. "our father commanded us, saying—." Eph. vi. 1—3. "children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right: honour thy father," &c. Coloss. iii 20. "children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord." 1 Tim. v. 4. "if any widow have children or nephews, let them learn first to show piety at home, and to requite their parents, for that is good and acceptable before God."

Contrary to the above is the conduct of Ham, Gen. ix. 22. "Ham saw the nakedness of his father." Exod. xxi. 15. "he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death." v. 17. "he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death." See also Lev. xx. 9. Deut. xxi. 18. "if a man have a stubborn and rebellious son—." xxvii. 16. "cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother." Prov. x. 1. "a wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother." xix. 26. "he that wasteth his father," &c. xx. 20. "whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness." xxiii. 22. "hearken unto thy father that begat thee—." xxviii. 24. "whoso robbeth his father or his mother—." xxx. 17. "the eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it." Matt. xv. 5. "ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or mother, It is a gift .... and honour not his father or mother, he shall be free." See also Mark vii. 11, 12. Also an extravagant and preposterous regard. Matt. viii. 21, 22. "suffer me first to go and bury my father."

Analogous to the relation of parent and child are those of guardian and ward, teacher and pupil, elder and younger; in a word, of superior and inferior, whatever be the ground of distinction.

For the duties of GUARDIANS, see 2 Kings xi. 4, &c. "he shewed them the king's son," &c.

The duties of WARDS. 2 Kings xii. 2. "Jehoash did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah all his days, wherein Jehoida the priest instructed him."

The prophet Samuel did not consider it beneath his dignity in his old age, after having exercised the most important public functions, to discharge the office of TEACHER in the schools of the prophets.[3] 1 Sam. xix. 20. "they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them."

The duties of PUPILS. 1 Kings xix. 21. "he went after Elijah and ministered unto him." 2 Kings ii. 2, 4, 6. "I will not leave thee."

The duties of the ELDER. Prov. xvi. 31. "the hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness." Tit. ii. 2. "that the aged men be sober, grave, temperate, sound in faith, in charity, in patience."

The reverse. Job xx. 11. "his bones are full of the sin of his youth, which shall lie down with him in the dust." Isai. lxv. 20. "the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed."

The duties of the YOUNGER. Lev. xix. 32. "thou shalt rise up before the hoary head—." 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3. "in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek after God." Job xxxii. 4. "Elihu had waited till Job had spoken, because they were elder than he." v. 6. "I am young, and ye are very old; wherefore I was afraid, and durst not show you mine opinion." Psal. xxv. 7. "remember not the sins of my youth—." cxix. 9. "wherewithal shall a

[3] The words of our translation, as well as of the Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate, do not necessarily imply that Samuel taught, but that he presided in the schools of the prophets. But Milton probably understands the text in the right manner. Jonathan renders it *et Samuelem stantem docentem super eos*. See Stillingfleet's elaborate account of the schools of the prophets. *Origines Sacræ*, Book II. chap. iv. sect. 3. It will be remembered that Milton was reproached by his enemies with having been a schoolmaster. In the *Transposer Rehearsed*, written by R. Leigh, Oxon 1673, 12mo. he is called *a Latin Secretary and an English Schoolmaster*, p 128, and Salmasius, in his posthumous reply to the *Defence of the People of England*, describes him as 'ludimagister in schola triviali Londinensi.' Newton and Symmons have vindicated him from this crime with more seriousness than the charge seems to deserve.

young man cleanse his way?—" cxlviii. 12. "young men and maidens.... praise the name of Jehovah." Eccles. xi. 9, 10. "rejoice, O young man, in thy youth.... but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgement." xii. 1—3. "remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth." 1 Tim. iv. 12. "let no man despise thy youth." 2 Tim. iii. 15. "from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures." Tit. ii. 6. "young men likewise exhort to be sober-minded."

The reverse. 2 Kings ii. 23. "there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him." 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. "Jehoiachin was eight years old when he began to reign.... and he did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah." Psal. lviii. 3. "the wicked are estranged from the womb." Prov. xx. 11. "even a child is known by its doings." Isai. iii. 5. "the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient."

The duties of SUPERIORS. Ruth ii. 4. "Boaz said unto the reapers, Jehovah be with you." Psal. xlix. 20. "man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish." Prov. iii. 35. "the wise shall inherit glory." 1 Pet. iv. 10. "as every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God."

The reverse. Prov. xxvi. 1. "as snow in summer, and as rain in harvest, so honour is not seemly for a fool." Eccles. x. 5, 6. "there is an evil that I have seen under the sun, as an error which proceedeth from the ruler; folly is set in great dignity—." Isai. xxiii. 9. "to stain the pride of all glory—."

We are forbidden to glory in nobility of birth, or in rank, however exalted. Deut. xxvi. 5, &c. "thou shalt speak and say before Jehovah thy God, A Syrian ready to perish was my father—." Job xii. 21. "he poureth contempt upon princes." Psal. lxxv. 7. "God is the judge, he putteth down one, and setteth up another." cxiii. 7. "he raiseth up the poor out of the dust." Isai. xxxii. 8. "the liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand." John i. 13. "which were born, not of blood—." iii. 6. "that which is born of the flesh is flesh." viii. 39. "if ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham."

Opposed to the proper duty of a superior, is an unautho-

rized assumption of censorial power. 1 Pet. iv. 15. "a busy-body in other men's matters."

The duties of INFERIORS. Prov. xxvi. 8. "as he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool." Ruth ii. 4. "they answered him, Jehovah bless thee." v. 7. "I pray you, let me glean and gather after the reapers." 2 Kings ii. 15. "they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him." Luke xiv. 9, 10. "when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room." Rom. xiii. 7. "render therefore to all their dues .... honour to whom honour."

The reverse. James ii. 2, &c. "if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring," &c.

The duties of BRETHREN and KINSMEN. Gen. iv. 7. "unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him." xiii. 8. "let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me .... for we be brethren." xxix. 11. "Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice and wept." v. 13. "he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him." xliii. 33. "they sat before him, the first-born according to his birth-right—." Psal. cxxxiii. 1. "behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

The reverse. 2 Chron. xxi. 4. "he slew all his brethren—." v. 13. "and also hast slain thy brethren of thy father's house, which were better than thyself." Prov. xviii. 19. "a brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city."

The duties of MASTERS. Exod. xxi. 26, 27. "if a man strike the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake." Job xxxi. 13. "if I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me." Psal. ci. 6. "he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me." cxxvii. 1, 2. "except Jehovah build the house, they labour in vain that build it." Prov. iii. 33. "he blesseth the habitation of the just." xiv. 11. "the tabernacle of the upright shall flourish." xv. 6. "in the house of the righteous is much treasure." xxiv. 3, 4. "through wisdom is an house builded," &c. xxvii. 23. "be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks—." xxix. 21. "he that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child, shall have him become his son at the length." Luke xvii. 7—10. "which of you having a servant

plowing .... will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup ... doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not." Eph. vi. 9. "and ye, masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him." Col. iv. 1. "masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal," &c. 1 Tim. iii. 5. "if a man know not how to rule his own house," &c.

The reverse. Prov. iii. 33. "the curse of Jehovah is in the house of the wicked." xi 29. "he that troubleth his own house shall inherit the wind." xiv. 11. "the house of the wicked shall be overthrown." xv. "in the revenues of the wicked is trouble." v. 25. "Jehovah will destroy the house of the proud."

Respecting the possession of slaves, and the extent of the master's authority, see Gen. xvii. 12. "he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger—." Levit. xix. 20. "whosoever lieth carnally with a woman that is a bondmaid," &c. xxv. 44—46. "both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have," &c. 1 Cor. vii. 21, 22. "let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.... art thou called being a servant, care not for it." See also the epistle to Philemon Concerning the forfeiture, by insolvency, of the rights of freedom, see 2 Kings iv. 1. "the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen." Matt. xviii. 25. "his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife," &c.

Respecting the punishment of slaves, see Gen. xvi. 6. "behold, the maid is in thine hand, do to her as it pleaseth thee." Prov. xxix. 19. "a servant will not be corrected by words; for, though he understand, he will not answer." Punishment, however, should not exceed due limits. Exod. xxi. 20, 21, 26, 27. "if a man smite his servant, or his maid, and he die—."

Respecting the manumission of Hebrew slaves, see Exod. xxi. 2—4. Levit. xxv. 39, 40. Deut. xv. 12, 13, 16, 17, &c. Jer. xxxiv.

The duties of SERVANTS. Gen. xvi. 9. "the angel of Jehovah said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands." xxiv. 9. "the servant put his hand

under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him—." Prov. xvii. 2. "a wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame—." xxv. 13. "so is a faithful messenger to them that send him, for he refresheth the soul of his masters." xxvii. 18. "he that waiteth on his master shall be honoured." Eph. vi. 5—8. "servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ—." See also Col. iii. 22, &c. 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. "let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed: and they that have believing masters, let them not despise them . . . because they are faithful and beloved." Tit. ii. 9, 10. "exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them in all things, not answering again, not purloining, but showing all fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things" 1 Pet. ii. 18, 19. "servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward; for this is thankworthy—."

The reverse. Gen. xvi. 4. "her mistress was despised in her eyes." 2 Kings v. 20, &c. "Gehazi, the servant of Elisha the man of God, said, Behold, my master hath spared Naaman this Syrian, in not receiving at his hands that which he brought; but as Jehovah liveth, I will run after him, and take somewhat of him." Prov. x. 26. "as vinegar to the teeth. . . . so is the sluggard to them that send him." xxvi. 6. "he that sendeth a message by the hand of a fool cutteth off the feet, and drinketh damage." xxx. 22, 23. "for a servant when he reigneth," &c.

CHAP. XVI.—Of the remaining Class of Private Duties.

Thus far of domestic duties. We are next to speak of those which are exercised towards strangers.

The principal virtues in this class are almsgiving and hospitality.

Almsgiving consists in affording relief to the poor, especially to such as are brethren, in proportion to

OUR MEANS, OR EVEN BEYOND THEM, WITHOUT OSTENTATION, AND FROM THE MOTIVE OF TRUE CHARITY.[4] Exod. xxiii. 11. "the seventh year thou shalt let the land rest, and lie still, that the poor of thy people may eat." Deut. xv. 2. "this is the manner of the release," &c. v. 11. "thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor and to thy needy, in thy land." xxiv. 19—21. "when thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field —." Luke iii. 11. "he that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none." xiv. 12—14. "when thou makest a dinner.... call not thy friends.... lest they also bid thee again ... but call the poor, the lame," &c. xvi. 9. "make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." Christ himself, although poor, set us an example of this virtue. John xiii. 29. "that he should give something to the poor." Eph. iv. 28. "rather let him labour.... that he may have to give to him that needeth."

IN PROPORTION TO OUR MEANS. Matt. x. 42. "whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in my name—." Luke xi. 41. "rather give alms of such things as ye have." Acts iii. 6. "silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee." 2 Cor. viii. 12, 13. "if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that which a man hath, and not according to that he hath not."

OR EVEN BEYOND THEM. Luke xxi. 4. "all these have of their abundance cast in unto the offerings of God, but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had.' 2 Cor. viii. 3. "to their power, I bear record, yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves." He subjoins, however, v. 13. "I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened; but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want." On this, as on similar occasions, we are to be guided by geometrical rather than by arithmetical proportion, regulating our bounty according to the rank and dignity, the education and previous condition of each individual; lest we fall into the absurdity

[4] Milton, when speaking of his mother, particularly notices her charitable disposition. 'Londini sum natus..... matre probatissima, et eleemosyna per vicinam potissimum nota.' *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* Prose Works, Symmons' ed. V. 230.

of equalizing those whom nature never intended for an equality.

To THE POOR; that is, to such as are unable to support themselves by their own labour and exertions. Lev. xxv. 35. "if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him: yea, though he be a stranger." Deut. xv. 7, &c. "if there be among you a poor man," &c. 2 Thess. iii. 10. "if any would not work, neither should he eat." Hence we are not bound to relieve those vagrants and beggars who are such of choice, and not of necessity.[5] v. 11, 12. "we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies; now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." Among the poor are to be reckoned orphans and widows, on account of the desolate situation of the one, and the tender age of the other. Exod. xxii. 22—24. "ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child." Deut. x. 18. "he doth create the judgement of the fatherless and widow." xiv. 28, 29. "at the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase.... and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied," xxvii. 19. "cursed be he that perverteth the judgement of the fatherless or widow." Job xxix. 11, &c. "because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless—." xxxi. 16. "if I have withheld the poor from their desire, or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail; or have eaten my morsel myself alone, and the fatherless have not eaten thereof." Psal. lxviii. 5. "a father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation." cxlvi. 9. "he releveth the fatherless and widow." Prov. xxiii. 10, 11. "enter not into the fields of the fatherless; for their redeemer is mighty." To these may be added such as are weak or helpless from any cause whatever, and all who are in affliction, especially for religion's sake. Isai. lviii. 7. "is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that

[5] This is an allusion to the mendicant Friars, who made poverty a part of the rule of their order. Their increase was so great, owing to the encouragement shewn them by Pope Innocent III, that Gregory the ·th found it necessary to reduce them to the four orders of Dominicans, ·cans, Carmelites, and Augustines.

thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?" Matt. xxv. 36. "naked, and ye clothed me; sick," &c. Luke xiv. 13. "call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind." Heb. vi. 10. "God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love which ye have showed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister."

WITHOUT OSTENTATION. Prov. xxi. 14. "a gift in secret pacifieth anger, and a reward in the bosom strong wrath." Matt. vi. 1, &c. "when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee —." 2 Cor. viii. 24. "wherefore show ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf."

OUT OF TRUE CHARITY 1 Cor. xiii. 3. "though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, I am nothing." Not therefore of compulsion. 2 Cor. viii. 3. "they were willing of themselves." v. 8. "I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love"

Scripture everywhere declares that the reward of almsgiving is great. Job. xxix. 11—25. "when the ear heard me, then it blessed me . . . because I delivered the poor that cried," &c. Psal. xli. 1. "blessed is he that considereth the poor: Jehovah will deliver him in the time of trouble," cxii. 9. compared with 2 Cor. ix. 8, 9. "God is able to make all grace abound toward you, that ye, always having all-sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work; as it is written, He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor, his righteousness remaineth for ever." Prov. xiv. 21. "he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he." xix. 17. "he that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to Jehovah, and that which he hath given will he pay him again." xxii. 9. "he that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed, for he giveth of his bread to the poor." xxviii. 27. "he that giveth to the poor shall not lack." Isai. lviii 6, &c. "is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry? &c. then shall thy light break forth as the morning." Matt. x. 40—42. "he that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." xxv. 34, 35. "come, ye blessed of my Father.... for I

was an hungred, and ye gave me meat—." Luke xi. 41. "give alms.... and behold, all things are pure unto you." xii. 33. "provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not." xiv. 12—14. "thou shalt be blessed, for they cannot recompense thee." Acts x. 2—4. "thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God." 2 Cor. ix. 6. "he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully." 1 Tim. vi. 18, 19. "laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life."

On the other hand, the neglect of this duty is condemned, Prov. xxi. 13. "whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard." xxviii. 27. "he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse." Matt. xxv. 45. "inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." 2 Cor. ix. 6. "he which soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly."

HOSPITALITY consists in receiving under our own roof, or providing for the kind reception of the poor and strangers; especially such as are recommended to us by the churches, or by our brethren in the faith. Deut. xxiii. 7, 8. "thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother; thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land." Job. xxxi. 32. "the stranger did not lodge in the street—." Rom. xii. 13. "distributing to the necessity of saints, given to hospitality." xvi. 2. "that ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you, for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also." Heb. xiii. 2. "be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." 1 Pet. iv. 9. "use hospitality one to another without grudging." 3 John 5, 6, &c. "beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers; which have borne witness of thy charity before the church." The reward of a hospitable spirit is signally exemplified in the woman of Sarepta, and in the Shunammite, who received prophets under their roof.

Injury or oppression of guests or strangers was forbidden by various laws, recorded Exod. xxii. 21, &c. Levit. xix. 33, 34. Deut. x. 18, 19.

Opposed to this is inhospitality. Deut. xxvii. 19. "cursed

be he that perverteth the judgement of the stranger." Ezek. xxii. 29. "they have vexed the poor and needy, yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully." 3 John 10. "not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church."

CHAP. XVII.—Of Public Duties towards our Neighbour.

Hitherto we have treated of the private duties of man towards his neighbour. Public duties are of two kinds, political and ecclesiastical.

Under political duties are comprehended the obligations of the magistrate and the people to each other, and to foreign nations.

The duties of the magistrate to the people are described Exod. xxiii. 8. "thou shalt take no gift, for the gift blindeth the wise." xxxii. 11. "Moses besought Jehovah his God, and said, Jehovah, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people?" Lev. xix. 15. "thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty; but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour." Num. xi. 11, &c. "wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me?" xiv. 13. "Moses said unto Jehovah, Then the Egyptians shall hear it—." Deut. i. 9. "I am not able to bear you myself alone." xvii. 20. "that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left." 1 Kings ii. 3. "keep the charge of Jehovah thy God—." iii. 8—10. "give thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people—." See also 2 Chron. i. 10. 1 Chron. xiii. 2. "David said unto all the congregation of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and that it be of Jehovah our God, let us send abroad unto our brethren, every where—." xxviii. 2. "hear me, my brethren, and my people." 2 Chron. xix. 6. "he said to the judges, Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for Jehovah, who is with you in the judgement." Psal. lxxii. 2. "he shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judge-

ment." lxxv. 2. "when I shall receive the congregation, I will judge uprightly." lxxxii. 3. "defend the poor and fatherless." Prov. xi. 14. "where no counsel is, the people fall; but in the multitude of counsellors there is safety" xvi. 12. "it is an abomination to kings to commit wickedness, for the throne is established by righteousness." xxix. 4. "the king by judgement establisheth the land, but he that receiveth gifts overthroweth it." xviii. 17. "he that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him" xx. 8. "a king that sitteth in the throne of judgement scattereth away all evil with his eyes." xxiv. 23. "it is not good to have respect of persons in judgement." xxxi. 1—10. "the words of king Lemuel," &c. Jer. xxi. 12. "thus saith Jehovah.. Execute judgement in the morning." xxii. 3, 4. "execute ye judgement and righteousness." Neh. v. 14. "from the time that I was appointed to be their governor.. I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor." Matt. xx. 25—27. "ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister." See also Mark x. 42, &c. Luke xxii. 25, &c. Rom. xiii. 3, 4. "rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil .. for he is the minister of God to thee for good."

In the matter of reward and punishment. Psal. ci. 4, &c. "a froward heart shall depart from me ... mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land." Excessive punishment is forbidden. Deut. xxv. 3. "forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed." 1 Kings ii. 26. "thou art worthy of death, but I will not at this time put thee to death, because," &c.

The right of the magistrate as regards the sword. Gen. ix. 6. "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Job xii. 18. "he looseth the bond of kings." Psal. lxxv. 6. "promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south." Prov. viii. 15, 16. "by me kings reign." Dan. ii. 21. "he changeth the times and the seasons." iv. 17. "that the living may know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men" v. 18—20. "the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, &c..... but when his heart was lifted up .... he was

deposed from his kingly throne.' Rom. xiii. 1, &c. "let every soul be subject unto the higher powers . for he beareth not the sword in vain;" if therefore not in vain, much less for the injury of the good.[6] 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. "as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers."

Of the election of magistrates, see Exod. xviii. 21. "thou shalt provide out of all the people able men .... and place such over them." Numb. xi. 16, 17, 25. "gather unto me seventy men—." Deut. i. 13, &c "take you wise men and understanding—." 1 Sam. xi. 15. compared with xii. 1. "all the people went to Gilgal, and there they made Saul king .... behold, I have hearkened unto your voice in all that ye said unto me, and have made a king over you," 2 Sam. ii. 4. "the men of Judah came, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah."

The following texts show what is contrary to the duties of the magistrate. Psal. xxvi. 10. "their right hand is full of bribes." xciv. 20. "shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee?" Prov. xvii. 23. "a wicked man taketh a gift out of the bosom to pervert the ways of judgement." xxi 7. "they refuse to do judgement." xxviii. 15, 16. "as a roaring lion and a ranging bear, so is a wicked ruler over the poor people." xxix. 4. "he that receiveth gifts overthroweth the land." v. 12. "if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked." Eccles. iv. 13. "better is a poor and wise child, than an old and foolish king who will no more be admonished." x. 5, 6. "there is an evil which I have seen under the sun, as an error which proceedeth from the ruler; folly is set in great dignity—." v. 16, 17. "woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning."—Isai. i. 23. "thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves, every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards, they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them." iii. 4. "I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them." v. 12. "as for my people, children are their

[6] 'Definiendo enim explicat, ne quis errare et opiniones hinc stolidas aucupari possit, qui sint magistratus potestatis hujus ministri, et quam ob causam subjectos esse nos hortetur; 'Magistratus non sunt timori bonis operibus, sed malis, bonis a potestate hac laudem adipiscentur; magistratus minister est Dei nostro bono datus; non frustra gladium gerit, vindex ad iram ei qui malum facit." *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Prose Works, Symmons' ed. V. 87.

oppressors, and women rule over them." v. 14. "Jehovah will enter into judgement with the ancients of his people—." v. 23. "which justify the wicked for reward." x. 12. "I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria." Ezek. xxix. 3. "behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt," &c. Amos v. 7. "ye who turn judgement to wormwood—." See also vi. 12. Micah iii. 11 "the heads thereof judge for reward—." vii. 3. "the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward."

The licentiousness of courts is exposed, Gen. xii. 15. "the princes also of Pharaoh saw her and commended her before Pharaoh." Prov. xxv. 5. "take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness." 1 Chron. xxiv. 17. "after the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah," &c. Isai. xxii. 15, 16. "get thee unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house," &c. 2 Kings xxi. 7. "Jezebel his wife said unto him, Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel?" Esth. iii. 6. "he thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone—." v. 9. "if it please the king, let it be written that they may be destroyed." Dan. vi. 7. "all the presidents of the kingdom .... have consulted together to make a royal decree—."

It is especially the duty of the magistrate to encourage religion and the service of God (public worship in particular), and to reverence the church. Isai. xlix. 23. "kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet." That the church, however, does not stand in need of the superintendence of the magistrate, but that, if left in peace, she is fully qualified, in the exercise of her own proper laws and discipline, to govern herself aright, and enlarge her boundaries, is evident from Acts ix. 31. "then had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."

Religion therefore is to be protected by the magistrate, not forced upon the people.[1] Josh. xxiv. 15. "if it seem evil

[1] See on this and the following paragraph the treatise *On Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, throughout. Again, in the *History of Britain*: "While they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of as executed unchristianly against themselves, these intents

unto you to serve Jehovah, choose you this day whom ye will serve .... but as for me and my house, we will serve Jehovah." Psal. cv. 14. "he suffered no man to do them wrong, yea, he reproved kings for their sakes, saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." If then kings are forbidden to exercise violence against religious persons in any matter whatever, much more are they forbidden to force the consciences of such persons in the matter of religion itself, especially on points where the magistrate is fully as liable to be mistaken as the pope, and is actually mistaken in many instances; unless indeed they are content, like him, to be accounted antichrist, a name given to the pope himself chiefly from his encroachments on the consciences of mankind. True it is, that the Jewish kings and magistrates interposed their judgement in matters of religion, and even employed force in the execution of their decrees: but this was only in cases where the law of God was clear and express, and where the magistrate might safely decide without danger of mistake or controversy. In our own times, on the contrary, Christians are on many occasions persecuted or subjected to punishment for matters either purely controversial, or left by Christian liberty to the judgement of each believer, or concerning which there is no express declaration of the gospel. Against such magistrates, Christians only in name, many heathen and Jewish rulers will rise in judgement, and among the rest Pontius Pilate himself, whose deference to Jewish opinions was such, that he did not think it derogatary to his proconsular dignity to go out to speak to the Jews, when they, from a religious scruple, declined entering the judgement-hall. John xviii. 28, 29. So also Gamaliel, Acts v. 39. "if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it;" and Gallio, xviii. 15. "I will be no judge of such matters."

For if even the ecclesiastical minister is not entitled to exercise absolute authority over the church, much less can the civil magistrate claim such authority.[7] 2 Cor. i. 24. "not for that

are clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner to punish church delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.' Prose Works, Book III. This was one of the paragraphs omitted, for political reasons, in all the early editions of the *History of Britain*. It appeared first in the collection of Milton's Works published in 2 vols. folio, 1738.

[7] 'Why did he lay restraints and force enlargements upon our consci-

we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand." Coloss. ii. 18. "let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility," &c. 1 Pet. v. 3. "neither as being lords over God's heritage." Rom xiv. 4. "who art thou that judgest another man's servant?" See also James iv. 12. For other arguments to the same effect, I refer to Book I. of this Treatise, under the heads of Christ's kingdom, Faith, the Gospel, Christian Liberty, Church Discipline and its objects. Undoubtedly, as the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, so neither is it sustained by force and compulsion, the supporters of earthly rule. Hence the outward profession of the gospel ought not to be made a matter of constraint; and as to the inner parts of religion, faith and liberty of conscience, these are beyond its power, being from their very nature matter of ecclesiastical discipline alone, and incapable of being affected by the determinations of human tribunals: not to mention the absurdity and impiety of compelling the conscientious to adopt a religion which they do not approve, or of constraining the profane to bear a part in that public worship from which God has interdicted them. Psal. l. 16, 17. "unto the wicked God said, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?" Prov xv. 8. and xxi. 27 "the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination; how much more when he bringeth it with a wicked mind?"

For the duties of the people towards the magistrate, see Exod xxii. 28. "thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people." 2 Sam. xxi. 17. "then the men of David sware unto him, saying, Thou shalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Israel." Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. "my son, fear thou Jehovah and the king." xxix. 26. "many seek the ruler's favour, but every man's judgement cometh from Jehovah" Eccles. viii. 2. "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God." Matt. xxii. 21. "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Rom. xiii. 1. "let every soul be subject unto the higher powers—."

ences in things for which we were to answer God only and the church? God bids us "be subject for conscience sake," that is, as to a magistrate, and in the laws, not usurping over spiritual things, as Lucifer beyond his sphere." *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, I. 429

1 Tim ii. 1, 2. "I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications .... be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority." Tit. iii. 1. "put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." 1 Pet. ii. 13. "submit yourselves to every ordinance of God for the Lord's sake."

Even towards unjust magistrates. Matt. xvii. 26, 27. "then are the children free, notwithstanding, lest we should offend them," &c. Acts xxiii. 4, &c. "revilest thou God's high priest?.... I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Those cases must be excepted, in which compliance with the commands of men would be incompatible with our duty towards God. Exod. i. 17. "the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them." ii. 2. "she hid him three months." Josh. i. 17. "only Jehovah thy God be with thee—." 1 Sam. xiv. 45. "so the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not." xxi. 1, &c. "he said unto him, God forbid, thou shalt not die." xxii. 17. "the servants of the king would not put forth their hand." 2 Chron. xxi. 10. "Libnah revolted from under his hand, because he had forsaken Jehovah God of his fathers." xxvi. 18. "they withstood Uzziah the king." Esth. iii. 2, 4. "Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence." Dan. iii. 16. "we are not careful to answer thee in this matter." v. 18. "if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods." vi. 10. "when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house," &c. Acts iv. 19. "whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." Hebr. xi. 23. "by faith Moses when he was born was hid three months of his parents.... and they were not afraid of the king's commandment."

Opposed to this are, first, rebellion. Numb. xvi. 1. "now Korah .. took men—." 2 Sam. xx. 1. "and there happened to be there a man of Belial, whose name was Sheba," &c.

Secondly, obedience in things unlawful. 1 Sam. xxii. 18. "Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests," &c.

The opinion maintained by some, that obedience is due to the commands not only of an upright magistrate, but of an usurper, and that in matters contrary to justice, has no founda-

tion in Scripture.[8] For with regard to 1 Pet. ii. 13. "submit yourselves to every ordinance of man," it is evident from v. 14. that although this passage comprehends all human ordinances, all forms of government indiscriminately, it applies to them only so far as they are legitimately constituted. The eighteenth verse, which is alleged to the same purpose, relates to servants exclusively, and affords no rule for the conduct of free nations, whose rights are of a kind altogether distinct from those of purchased or hired servants. As for the obedience of the Israelites to Pharaoh, we have no means of ascertaining whether it was voluntary or compulsory, or whether in obeying they acted rightly or otherwise, inasmuch as we are nowhere told, either that they were enjoined to obey him, or that their obedience was made matter of commendation. The conduct of Daniel in captivity is equally foreign to the purpose, as under his circumstances it was impossible for him to act otherwise. Besides, it is written, Psal lx. 4. "thou hast given a banner to them that feared thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth." That it may be the part of prudence to obey the commands even of a tyrant in lawful things, or, more properly, to comply with the necessity of the times for the sake of public peace, as well as of personal safety,[9] I am far from denying.

The duties of the magistrate and people TOWARDS THEIR NEIGHBOURS regard the transactions of peace and war.

Under the head of PEACE are included international treaties.

[8] 'Neither God nor nature put civil power into the hands of any whomsoever, but to a lawful end, and commands our obedience to the authority of law only, not to the tyrannical force of any person.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, I. 446. 'Quæ autem potestas, qui magistratus, contraria his facit, neque illa, neque hic, a Deo proprie ordinatus est. Unde neque tali vel potestati vel magistratui subjectio debetur aut præcipitur, neque nos prudenter obsistere prohibemur.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Symmons' ed. V. 88.

[9] This is a remarkable passage, considering the prominent part taken by the author not only against the monarchy, but against the monarch himself. It is evident that his experience of the miseries caused by the civil disturbances of those evil times had taught him that a regard to the general good might sometimes render a temporary sacrifice of abstract rights not inconsistent with the sincerest love of political or religious liberty. Compare a passage in his Defence of the People of England; 'Prudenter igitur Ecclesiastes hoc in loco (cap. viii. 1, &c.) monet privatos ne cum rege contendant, nam etiam cum divite, cum potenti quovis, ut plurimum damnosa contentio est.' Prose Works, Symmons' ed. V. 61.

In order to ascertain whether, in particular cases, these may be lawfully contracted with the wicked, we ought to consider the purposes for which treaties are concluded, whether simply for the sake of peace, or of mutual defence and closer intimacy.

Of the former class are the confederacy of Abraham with the men of Mamre, Gen. xiv. 13. and with Abimelech, xxi. 27. that of Isaac with Abimelech, xxvi. 29—31. that of Solomon with Hiram, 1 Kings v. 12. from which examples the lawfulness of such alliances appears evident.

Of the latter class are the treaties of Asa with Benhadad, 1 Kings xv. 19. of Jehoshaphat with the house of Ahab, 2 Chron. xviii. 1. compared with xix. 2. of Amaziah with the Israelites, xxv. 6—8. of Ahaz with the Assyrians, 2 Kings xvi. 7. and that which the Jews sought to contract with the Egyptians, Isai. xxx. 2, &c. These were unlawful, and led to calamitous results. Exod. xxiii. 32. "thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods." xxxiv. 12. "take heed to thyself lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee." See also v. 15. Deut. vii. 4. "they will turn away thy son from following me." Ezek. xvi. 26. "thou hast committed fornication with the Egyptians thy neighbours, great of flesh." 2 Cor. vi. 14. "be not ye unequally yoked with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness?"

Asa, 2 Chron. xvi. 3. and Zedekiah, xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. are examples of the violation of treaties.

On the subject of asylums see Num. xxxv. 6—15. Deut. xxiii. 15.

With regard to the duties of WAR, it is enjoined, first, that it be not undertaken without mature deliberation. Prov. xx. 18. xxiv. 6. Luke xiv. 31. "what king going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first and consulteth—?" Secondly, that it be carried on wisely and skilfully. 1 Sam. xiv. 28. "thy father straitly charged the people with an oath," &c. xxiii. 22. "it is told me that he dealeth very subtilly." Prov. xxi. 22. "a wise man scaleth the city of the mighty." Thirdly, that it be prosecuted with moderation. Deut. xx. 19. "thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof," &c. Fourthly, that it be waged in a spirit of godliness." Deut. xxiii. 9, &c. "when the host goeth forth against thine enemies, then keep

thee from every wicked thing." xxxii. 29, 30. "O that they were wise . . . how should one chase a thousand--!" 1 Sam. vii. 10. "as Samuel was offering up the burnt-offering. . . . Jehovah thundered with a great thunder on that day against the Philistines." Isai. xxxi. 6. "turn ye unto him. . then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword." Amos i. 13. "because they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead, that they might enlarge their border." Fifthly, that no mercy be shown to a merciless enemy. 1 Sam. xv. 33. "as thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women." Psal. xviii. 41, 42. "they cried, but there was none to save them. . . . then did I beat them small as the dust before the wind." lx. 8. "Moab is my wash-pot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe—." Jer. xlviii 10. "cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood." Sixthly, that our confidence be not placed in human strength, but in God alone. Exod. xiv. 17, 18. "I will get me honour upon Pharaoh and all his host." Deut. xx. 1. "when thou goest out to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses and chariots," &c. 1 Sam. xiv. 6. "there is no restraint to Jehovah to save by many or by few." xvii. 47. "all this assembly shall know that Jehovah saveth not with sword and spear." Psal. xxxiii. 16, 17. "there is no king saved by the multitude of an host—." xliv. 2, &c. "thou didst drive out the heathen with thine hand -." lx. 1. "O God, thou hast cast us off," &c. cxliv. 1. "blessed be Jehovah my strength, which teacheth my hands to war." cxlvii. 10. "he delighteth not in the strength of the horse." v. 13. "he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates ." Prov. xxi. 31. "the horse is prepared against the day of battle, but safety is of Jehovah." 2 Chron. xiv. 11. "it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power—." xx. 21. "he appointed singers unto Jehovah," &c. xxiv. 24. "the army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and Jehovah delivered a very great host into their hand." Isai. v. 26. "he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far," &c. Jer. xxi. 4. "I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands—." xxxvii. 10. "for though he had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you," &c. Ezek. xiii. 5. "ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel—." Zech. x. 5, 6. "they shall be as mighty men

which tread down their enemies in the mire of the streets in the battle —." Amos ii. 14. "the strong shall not strengthen his force." Seventhly, that the booty be distributed in equitable proportions. Numb. xxxi. 27. "divide the prey into two parts between them that took the war upon them, who went out to battle, and between all the congregation." Deut. xx. 14. "all the spoil thereof shalt thou take unto thyself, and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies." Josh. xxii. 8. "he blessed them, and he spake unto them, saying, Return with much riches unto your tents—." 1 Sam. xxx. 24. "as his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff."

There seems no reason why war should be unlawful now, any more than in the time of the Jews, nor is it anywhere forbidden in the New Testament.[1] Psal. cxlix. 6. "let a two-edged sword be in their hand." Two centurions, namely, the man of Capernaum and Cornelius, are reckoned among believers, Matt. viii. Acts x. Neither does John exhort the soldiers to refrain from war, but only from wrong and robbery; Luke iii. 14. "he said unto the soldiers, Do violence to no man ." 1 Cor. ix. 7. "who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?" Paul likewise availed himself of a guard of soldiers for his personal security; Acts xxiii. 17. "bring this young man unto the chief captain."

The observance of the divine commandments is the source of prosperity to nations. See Levit. xxvi. It renders them flourishing, wealthy, and victorious, Deut. xv. 4—6. lords over many nations, v. 6. xxvi. 17—19. exalted above all others, xxviii. 1, &c. a chapter which should be read again and again by those who have the direction of political affairs.[2] Compare

[1] The texts on which the Society of Friends maintain the unlawfulness of war are 2 Sam. xxii. 35. Psal. cxliv. 1.

[2] For Milton's opinion of the value of the Scriptures as teachers of political wisdom, see *Paradise Regained*, IV. 353.

> Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
> The top of eloquence, statists indeed,
> And lovers of their country, as may seem;
> But herein to our prophets far beneath,
> As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government
> In their majestic unaffected style
> Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
> In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt

also chap. xxix. iv. Judges ii. and iii. and Psal. xxxiii. 12. "blessed is the nation whose God is Jehovah." Prov. xi. 11. "by the blessing of the upright the city is exalted." xiv. 34. "righteousness exalteth a nation." xxviii. 2. "for the transgression of a land many are the princes thereof." See also Isai. iii. and xxiv. xlviii. 18. "O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments!" See also Jer v. Ezek. vii.

The consequences of impiety to nations are described, Isai. iii. 7. "in my house is neither bread nor clothing, make me not a ruler of the people." lvii. 9, 10, 13. "thou wentest to the king with ointment—." Hos. v. 13. "when Ephraim saw his sickness," &c. vii. 11, 12. "Ephraim also is like a silly dove without heart—." xii. 1. "Ephraim feedeth on wind, and followeth after the east wind—." Habak. ii. 12. "woe to him that buildeth a town with blood."

PUBLIC ECCLESIASTICAL DUTIES consist in the reciprocal obligations of ministers, and of the church considered collectively and individually.

THE DUTIES OF MINISTERS TOWARDS THE CHURCH IN GENERAL, AND TOWARDS INDIVIDUAL BELIEVERS IN PARTICULAR, are stated in the first book, in the chapter on ministers. Towards the church in general: Jer. i. 7, 8. "say not I am a child: for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee," &c. v. 17—19. "gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee." xv. 10, 11. "woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth." xviii. 19, &c. "remember that I stood before thee to speak good for them." xx. 7, &c. "thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived .... I am in derision daily." Isai. lviii. "cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions—." Ezek. ii. 6. "thou, son of man, be not afraid of them," &c. iii. 8, 9. "behold, I have made thy face strong against their faces—." xxxiii. 2—31. "son of man, speak to the children of thy people," &c. Matt. iv. 19. "follow me and I will make you fishers of men." viii. 21, 22. "suffer me first to go and bury my father; but Jesus said unto him Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead." ix. 11. "w

What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat,
These only with our law best form a king.

eateth your Master with publicans and sinners? but when Jesus heard that, he said unto them, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." v. 36. "he was moved with compassion on them, because ..... they were scattered abroad—." x. 14. "whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words," &c. xiii. 52. "every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." xviii. 12. "if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray," &c. Acts xiii. 51. "they shook off the dust of their feet against them." xviii. 6. "when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them—." 2 Cor. ii. 17. "we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ." 1 Thess. ii. 5. "neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know." Tit. ii. 7. "in all things showing thyself a pattern of good works."

Opposed to the above are the ignorant, the slothful, the timid, flatterers, the dumb, false teachers, the covetous, the ambitious. Isai. ix. 15. "the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail." Ezek. xlv. 8. "ye have set keepers of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves;" as was done by bishops formerly, and is not unfrequently practised by magistrates in the present day, thus depriving the people of their privilege of election. Isai. lvi. 10. "his watchmen are blind," &c. For an example of flatterers, see 2 Chron. xviii. 5. "the king of Israel gathered together of prophets four hundred men," &c. Neh. vi. 12. "lo, I perceived that God had not sent him." Jer. ii. 8. "the priests said not, Where is Jehovah?" v. 14. "because ye speak this word," &c. v. 31. "the prophets prophesy falsely." vi. 13, 14. "from the least of them even unto the greatest," &c. viii. 9. "lo, they have rejected the word of Jehovah, and what wisdom is in them?" x. 21 "the pastors are become brutish." xiv. 13—15, 18. "thus saith Jehovah concerning the prophets that prophesy in my name," &c. xxiii. 9, &c. "mine heart is broken within me, because of the prophets." In this class are to be placed Shemaiah, chap. xxviii. with the two other prophets mentioned in chap. xxix. 21. and Shemaiah, v. 24, &c. "because he hath sent letters in my name unto all the people that are

at Jerusalem. . . . saying, Jehovah hath made thee priest in the room of Jehoiada," &c. and Amaziah, Amos vii. 10—17. Jer. l. 6. "their shepherds have caused them to go astray." Lament. ii. 14. "thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee." iv. 13. "for the sins of the prophets—." Ezek. xiii. 2, &c. "prophesy against the prophets of Israel," &c. xxii. 26. "her priests have violated my law." v. 28. "her prophets have daubed them with untempered mortar." xxxiv. 2, &c. "son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel—." Hos. vi. 9. "as troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of priests murder in the way," &c. Amos viii 11. "I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread," &c. Mic. iii. 5, 6. "thus saith Jehovah concerning the prophets that make my people err—." v. 11. "the heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire—." Zeph. iii. 4. "her prophets are light and treacherous—." Zech. xi. 15, 16. "take unto thee yet the instruments of a foolish shepherd." v. 17. "woe to the idol shepherd that leaveth the flock." xiii. 2, &c. "I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land." Mal. ii. 1—10. "now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you." John ii. 16. "he said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence," &c. x. 10. "the thief cometh not but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy." 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c. "there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you."

THE DUTIES OF THE WHOLE CHURCH AND OF INDIVIDUAL BELIEVERS TOWARDS THEIR MINISTERS are stated Book I. in the chapter concerning the ministers and people; to which many of the following texts may also be referred. Matt. ix. 37, 38. "the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest—." x. 40, &c. "he that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me." See also John xiii. 29. Luke viii. 18. "take heed therefore how ye hear; for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have." Philipp. iii. 17, 18. "brethren, be followers together of me," &c. 1 Thess v. 12, 13. "we beseech you, brethren, to know them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work's sake."

Heb. xiii. 7. "remember them which have the rule over you." v. 17, 18. "obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you." Jer. xxiii. 16. "hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you; they make you vain; they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of Jehovah."

The contrary conduct is condemned, Isai. xxx. 9, 10. "this is a rebellious people," &c. Jer. xliii. 2. "saying unto Jeremiah, Thou speakest falsely: Jehovah our God hath not sent thee—." Micah ii. 6. "prophesy ye not; say ye to them that prophesy, &c. v. 11. "if a man walking in the spirit and falsehood do lie, saying," &c. Luke vii. 29, 30, "the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him." 3 John 9. "I wrote unto the church, but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not."

END OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

THAT PART ESPECIALLY, NOW CALLED ENGLAND;

FROM THE FIRST TRADITIONAL BEGINNING, CONTINUED TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

COLLECTED OUT OF THE ANCIENTEST AND BEST AUTHORS THEREOF.

[PUBLISHED FROM A COPY CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR HIMSELF, 1670.]

THE FIRST BOOK.

THE beginning of nations, those excepted of whom sacred books have spoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding ages, yea, periods of ages, either wholly unknown, or obscured and blemished with fables. Whether it were that the use of letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themselves, at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into sloth and ignorance; whereby the monuments of more ancient civility have been some destroyed, some lost. Perhaps disesteem and contempt of the public affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly ofttimes we see that wise men, and of best ability, have forborn to write the acts of their own days, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all history, the persons and their actions were, who, either by fortune or some rude election, had attained, as a sore judgment and ignominy upon the land, to have chief sway in managing the commonwealth. But that any law, or superstition of our philosophers, the Druids, forbad the Britains to write their

memorable deeds, I know not why any out of Cæsar[1] should allege: he indeed saith, that their doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to letters; but in most matters else, both private and public, among which well may history be reckoned, they used the Greek tongue; and that the British Druids, who taught those in Gaul, would be ignorant of any language known and used by their disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of recording be ever children in the knowledge of times and ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reason, this we find, that of British affairs, from the first peopling of the island to the coming of Julius Cæsar, nothing certain, either by tradition, history, or ancient fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious antiquaries been long rejected for a modern fable.

Nevertheless there being others, besides the first supposed author, men not unread, nor unlearned in antiquity, who admit that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction; and seeing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true, as what we read in poets of the flood, and giants little believed, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not feigned; I have therefore determined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce example, as Diodorus among the Greeks, Livy and others among the Latins, Polydore and Virunnius accounted among our own writers. But I intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of history; much less to argue and debate long who were the first inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath been upheld; but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the British nation, I now begin.

[1] Cæs. l. 6.

THAT the whole earth was inhabited before the flood, and to the utmost point of habitable ground from those effectual works of God in the creation, may be more than conjectured. Hence that this island also had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her stories, even in that old world those many hundred years, with much reason we may infer. After the flood, and the dispersing of nations, as they journeyed leisurely from the east, Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, and his offspring, as by authorities, arguments, and affinity of divers names is generally believed, were the first that peopled all these west and northern climes. But they of our own writers, who thought they had done nothing, unless, with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this island, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit authors a certain Samothes or Dis, a fourth or sixth son of Japhet, (who they make, about 200 years after the flood, to have planted with colonies, first the continent of Celtica or Gaul, and next this island; thence to have named it Samothea,) to have reigned here, and after him lineally four kings, Magus, Saron, Druis, and Bardus. But the forged Berosus, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into Britain, or send their people hither. So that this outlandish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room here so much as of a British fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, that these Samotheans under the reign of Bardus were subdued by Albion, a giant, son of Neptune; who called the island after his own name, and ruled it 44 years. Till at length passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hasting out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight, and Bergion also his brother.

Sure enough we are, that Britain hath been anciently termed Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans. And Mela, the geographer, makes mention of a stony shore in Languedoc, where by report such a battle was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the isle, or even landing here, depends altogether upon late surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond invention, that wafted hither the fifty daughters of a strange Dioclesian king of Syria;

brought in, doubtless, by some illiterate pretender to something mistaken in the common poetical story of Danaus king of Argos, while his vanity, not pleased with the obscure beginning which truest antiquity affords the nation, laboured to contrive us a pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These daughters by appointment of Danaus on the marriage-night having murdered all their husbands, except Lanceus, whom his wife's loyalty saved, were by him, at the suit of his wife their sister, not put to death, but turned out to sea in a ship unmanned; of which whole sex they had incurred the hate: and as the tale goes, were driven on this island. Where the inhabitants, none but devils, as some write, or as others, a lawless crew left here by Albion, without head or governor, both entertained them, and had issue by them a second breed of giants, who tyrannized the isle, till Brutus came.

The eldest of these dames in their legend they call Albina; and from thence, for which cause the whole scene was framed, will have the name Albion derived. Incredible it may seem so sluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authorized by the elder Ninnius, reputed to have lived about a thousand years ago. This I find not in him: but that Histion, sprung of Japhet, had four sons; Francus, Romanus, Alemannus, and Britto, of whom the Britains;[2] as true, I believe, as that those other nations, whose names are resembled, came of the other three; if these dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the book itself, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have given us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of Brutus and his line, with the whole progeny of kings, to the entrance of Julius Cæsar, we cannot so easily be discharged, descents of ancestry, long continued, laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrowed, or devised, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; defended by many, denied utterly by few. For what though Brutus and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded up; (seeing they who first devised to bring us from some noble ancestor, were content at first with Brutus the consul; till better invention, although not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous age, and by the same remove lighting on the Trojan tales in affectation to make the Britain of one original

[2] Holinshed.

with the Roman, pitched there;) yet those old and inborn names of successive kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mentioned, that which hath received approbation from so many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient writers from books more ancient, I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of story. The principal author is well known to be Geoffrey of Monmouth; what he was, and whence his authority, who in his age, or before him, have delivered the same matter, and such like general discourses, will better stand in a treatise by themselves. All[3] of them agree in this, that Brutus was the son of Silvius; he of Ascanius; whose father was Eneas a Trojan prince, who at the burning of that city, with his son Ascanius, and a collected number that escaped, after long wandering on the sea, arrived in Italy. Where at length by the assistance of Latinus king of Latiam, who had given him his daughter Lavinia, he obtained to succeed in that kingdom, and left it to Ascanius, whose son Silvius (though Roman histories deny Silvius to be the son of Ascanius) had married secretly a niece of Lavinia.

She being with child, the matter became known to Ascanius. Who commanding his "magicians to inquire by art, what sex the maid had conceived," had answer, "that it was one who should be the death of both his parents; and banished for the fact, should after all, in a far country, attain the highest honour." The prediction failed not, for in travail the mother died. And Brutus (the child was so called) at fifteen years of age, attending his father to the chace, with an arrow unfortunately killed him.

Banished therefore by his kindred, he retires into Greece. Where meeting with the race of Helenus king Priam's son, held there in servile condition by Pandrasus then king, with them he abides. For Pyrrhus, in revenge of his father slain at Troy, had brought thither with him Helenus, and many others into servitude. There Brutus among his own stock so

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster.

thrives in virtue and in arms, as renders him beloved to kings and great captains, above all the youth of that land. Whereby the Torjans not only began to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them in the way to liberty. They allege their numbers, and the promised help of Assaracus a noble Greekish youth, by the mother's side a Trojan; whom for that cause his brother went about to dispossess of certain castles bequeathed him by his father. Brutus considering both the forces offered him, and the strength of those holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore having fortified those castles, he with Assaracus and the whole multitude betake them to the woods and hills, as the safest place from whence to expostulate; and in the name of all sends to Pandrasus this message, "That the Trojans holding it unworthy their ancestors to serve in a foreign kingdom had retreated to the woods; choosing rather a savage life than a slavish: if that displeased him, that then with his leave they might depart to some other soil."

As this may pass with good allowance that the Trojans might be many in these parts, (for Helenus was by Pyrrhus made king of the Chaonians, and the sons of Pyrrhus by Andromache Hector's wife, could not but be powerful through all Epirus,) so much the more it may be doubted, how these Trojans could be thus in bondage, where they had friends and countrymen so potent. But to examine these things with diligence, were but to confute the fables of Britain, with the fables of Greece or Italy: for of this age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other countries, as this island, is equally under question. Be how it will, Pandrasus, not expecting so bold a message from the sons of captives, gathers an army; and marching towards the woods, Brutus who had notice of his approach nigh to the town called Sparatinum, (I know not what town, but certain of no Greek name), over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with slaughter of the Greeks pursues him to the passage of a river, which mine author names Akalon, meaning perhaps Achelous or Acheron; where at the ford he overlays them afresh. This victory obtained, and a sufficient strength left in Sparatinum, Brutus with Antigonus, the king's brother, and his friend Anacletus, whom he had taken in the fight, returns to the residue of his friends in the

thick woods; while Pandrasus with all speed recollecting, besieges the town. Brutus to relieve his men besieged, who earnestly called him, distrusting the sufficiency of his force, bethinks himself of this policy. Calls to him Anacletus, and threatening instant death else, both to him and his friend Antigonus, enjoins him, that he should go at the second hour of night to the Greekish leagre, and tell the guards he had brought Antigonus by stealth out of prison to a certain woody vale, unable through the weight of his fetters to move him further, entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. Anacletus to save both himself and his friend Antigonus, swears this, and at a fit hour sets on alone toward the camp; is met, examined, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his tale, as had been taught him; and they now fully assured, with a credulous rashness leaving their stations, fared accordingly by the ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus divided his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter and forbear execution, till he with his squadron possessed of the king's tent, gave signal to them by trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping and unguarded enemy, whom the besieged also now sallying forth, on the other side assail. Brutus the while had special care to seize and secure the king's person; whose life still within his custody, he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the town, there distributes the king's treasury, and leaving the place better fortified, returns with the king his prisoner to the woods. Straight the ancient and grave men he summons to council, what they should now demand of the king.

After long debate Mempricius, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in Greece, unless they meant to be deluded with a subtle peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose friends they had slain, advises them to demand first the king's eldest daughter Innogen in marriage to their leader Brutus with a rich dowry, next shipping, money, and fit provision for them all to depart the land.

This resolution pleasing best, the king now brought in, and placed in a high seat, is briefly told, that on these conditions

granted, he might be free; not granted, he must prepare to die.

Pressed with fear of death, the king readily yields; especially to bestow his daughter on whom he confessed so noble and so valiant: offers them also the third part of his kingdom, if they like to stay, if not, to be their hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The marriage therefore solemnized, and shipping from all parts got together, the Trojans in a fleet, no less written than three hundred four and twenty sail, betake them to the wide sea; where with a prosperous course, two days and a night bring them on a certain island long before dispeopled and left waste by sea-rovers, the name whereof was then Leogecia, now unknown. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruined city, where was a temple and image of Diana that gave oracles: but not meeting first or last, save wild beasts, they return with this notice to their ships; wishing their general would inquire of that oracle what voyage to pursue.

Consultation had, Brutus taking with him Gerion his diviner, and twelve of the ancientest, with wanton ceremonies before the inward shrine of the goddess, in verse (as it seems the manner was) utters his request, "Diva potens nemorum," &c.

> Goddess of shades, and huntress, who at will
> Walk'st on the rolling sphere, and through the deep
> On thy third reign the earth look now, and tell
> What land, what seat of rest thou bidd'st me seek,
> What certain seat, where I may worship thee
> For aye, with temples vow'd, and virgin choirs.

To whom sleeping before the altar, Diana in a vision that night thus answered, "Brute sub occasum solis," &c.

> Brutus, far to the west, in th' ocean wide,
> Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,
> Seagirt it lies, where giants dwelt of old,
> Now void it fits thy people; thither bend
> Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat,
> Where to thy sons another Troy shall rise:
> And kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might
> Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold.

These verses originally Greek, were put in Latin, saith Virunnius, by Gildas a British poet, and him to have lived under Claudius. Which granted true, adds much to the anti-

quity of this fable; and indeed the Latin verses are much better, than of the age for Geoffrey ap Arthur, unless perhaps Joseph of Exeter, the only smooth poet of those times, befriended him. In this, Diana overshot her oracle thus ending, "Ipsis totius terræ subditus orbis erit," That to the race of Brute, kings of this island, the whole earth shall be subject.

But Brutus, guided now, as he thought, by divine conduct, speeds him towards the west; and after some encounters on the Afric side, arrives at a place on the Tyrrhene sea; where he happens to find the race of those Trojans, who with Antenor came into Italy; and Corineus, a man much famed, was their chief: though by surer authors it be reported, that those Trojans with Antenor were seated on the other side of Italy, on the Adriatic, not the Tyrrhene shore. But these joining company, and past the Herculean Pillars, at the mouth of Ligeris in Aquitania cast anchor: where after some discovery made of the place, Corineus, hunting nigh the shore with his men, is by messengers of the king Goffarius Pictus met, and questioned about his errand there. Who not answering to their mind, Imbertus, one of them, lets fly an arrow at Corineus, which he avoiding, slays him: and the Pictavian himself hereupon levying his whole force, is overthrown by Brutus, and Corineus; who with the battle-axe which he was wont to manage against the Tyrrhene giants, is said to have done marvels. But Goffarius having drawn to his aid the whole country of Gaul, at that time governed by twelve kings, puts his fortune to a second trial; wherein the Trojans, overborn by multitude, are driven back, and besieged in their own camp, which by good foresight was strongly situate. Whence Brutus unexpectedly issuing out, and Corineus in the mean while, whose device it was, assaulting them behind from a wood, where he had conveyed his men the night before: the Trojans are again victors, but with the loss of Turon a valiant nephew of Brutus: whose ashes, left in that place, gave name to the city of Tours, built there by the Trojans. Brutus finding now his powers much lessened, and this yet not the place foretold him, leaves Aquitain, and with an easy course arriving at Totness in Devonshire, quickly perceives here to be the promised end of his labours.

The island, not yet Britain but Albion, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of giants,

whose excessive force and tyranny had consumed the rest. Them Brutus destroys, and to his people divides the land, which with some reference to his own name he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwall, as now we call it, fell by lot; the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants in rocks and caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of monsters to deal with was his old exercise.

And here with leave bespoken to recite a grand fable, though dignified by our best poets: while Brutus, on a certain festival day solemnly kept on that shore, where he first landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these savages breaking in upon them, began on a sudden another sort of game, than at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Goemagog the hugest, in height twelve cubits, is reserved alive, that with him Corineus, who desired nothing more, might try his strength; whom in a wrestle the giant catching aloft, with a terrible hug broke three of his ribs: nevertheless Corineus enraged, heaving him up by main force, and on his shoulders bearing him to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all shattered, into the sea, and left his name on the cliff, called ever since Langoemagog, which is to say, the giant's leap.

After this, Brutus in a chosen place builds Troja Nova, changed in time to Trinovantum, now London: and began to enact laws; Heli being then high priest in Judæa: and having governed the whole isle twenty-four years, died, and was buried in his new Troy. His three sons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, divide the land by consent. Locrine had the middle part Lœgria; Camber possessed Cambria, or Wales; Albanact, Albania, now Scotland. But he in the end by Humber king of the Hunds, who with a fleet invaded that land, was slain in fight, and his people drove back into Lœgria. Locrine and his brother go out against Humber; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a river drowned, which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his camp and navy, were found certain young maids, and Estrildes above the rest, passing fair, the daughter of a king in Germany; from whence Humber, as he went wasting the sea coast, had led her captive; whom Locrine, though before contracted to the daughter of Corineus, resolves to marry. But being forced and threatened by Corineus, whose authority and power he

feared, Guendolen the daughter he yields to marry, but in secret loves the other: and ofttimes retiring, as to some private sacrifice, through vaults and passages made under ground, and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a daughter equally fair, whose name was Sabra. But when once his fear was off by the death of Corineus, not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing Guendolen, he makes Estrildes now his queen. Guendolen, all in rage, departs into Cornwall, where Madan, the son she had by Locrine, was hitherto brought up by Corineus his grandfather. And gathering an army of her father's friends and subjects, gives battle to her husband by the river Sture; wherein Locrine, shot with an arrow, ends his life. But not so ends the fury of Guendolen; for Estrildes, and her daughter Sabra, she throws into a river: and, to leave a monument of revenge, proclaims that the stream be thenceforth called after the damsel's name; which, by length of time, is changed now to Sabrina, or Severn.

Fifteen years she governs in behalf of her son; then resigning to him at age, retires to her father's dominion. This, saith my author, was in the days of Samuel. Madan hath the praise to have well and peacefully ruled the space of forty years, leaving behind him two sons, Mempricius and Malim. Mempricius had first to do with the ambition of his brother, aspiring to share with him in the kingdom; whom therefore, at a meeting to compose matters, with a treachery, which his cause needed not, he slew.

Nor was he better in the sole possession, whereof so ill he could endure a partner, killing his nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly, given over to unnatural lust, in the twentieth of his reign, hunting in a forest, he was devoured by wolves.

His son Ebranc, a man of mighty strength and stature, reigned forty years. He first, after Brutus, wasted Gaul; and returning rich and prosperous, builded Caerebranc, now York; in Albania, Alclud, Mount Agned, or the Castle of Maidens, now Edinburgh. He had twenty sons and thirty daughters by twenty wives. His daughters he sent to Silvius Alba into Italy, who bestowed them on his peers of the Trojan line. His sons, under the leading of Assaracus their brother, won them lands and signiories in Germany, thence called from these brethren Germania; a derivation too hastily supposed, perhaps

before the word Germanus, or the Latin tongue was in use. Some who have described Henault, as Jacobus Bergomas and Lassabeus, are cited to affirm, that Ebranc, in his war there, was by Brunchildis, lord of Henault, put to the worse.

Brutus, therefore, surnamed Greenshield, succeeding, to repair his father's losses, as the same Lessabeus reports, fought a second battle in Henault, with Brunchild, at the mouth of Scaldis, and encamped on the river Hania. Of which our Spenser also thus sings:

> Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,
> And let the marsh of Esthambruges tell
> What colour were their waters that same day,
> And all the moor 'twixt Eversham and Dell,
> With blood of Henalois, which therein fell;
> How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see
> The Greenshield dyed in dolorous vermeil, &c.

But Henault, and Brunchild, and Greenshield, seem newer names than for a story pretended thus ancient.

Him succeeded Leil, a maintainer of peace and equity; but slackened in his latter end, whence arose some civil discord. He built, in the North, Cairleil;[4] and in the days of Solomon.

Rudhuddibras, or Hudibras, appeasing the commotions which his father could not, founded Caerkeynt or Canterbury, Caerguent or Winchester, and Mount Paladur, now Septonia or Shaftesbury: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his son built Caerbadus or Bath, and those medicinal waters he dedicated to Minerva; in whose temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great invention, and taught necromancy; till having made him wings to fly, he fell down upon the temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and so died after twenty years' reign.

Hitherto, from father to son, the direct line hath run on: but Leir, who next reigned, had only three daughters, and no male issue: governed laudibly and built Caerleir, now Leicester, on the bank of Sora. But at last, falling through age, he determines to bestow his daughters, and so among them to divide his kingdom. Yet first, to try which of them loved him best, (a trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seemed to know how much the trying behooved him,) he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them

[4] Called now Carlisle.

solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest her to believe. Gonorill, the eldest, apprehending too well her father's weakness, makes answer, invoking Heaven, "That she loved him above her soul." "Therefore," quoth the old man, overjoyed, "since thou so honourest my declining age, to thee and the husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my realm." So fair a speeding, for a few words soon uttered, was to Regan, the second, ample instruction what to say. She, on the same demand, spares no protesting; and the gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that "She loved him above all creatures;" and so receives an equal reward with her sister. But Cordeilla, the youngest, though hitherto best beloved, and now before her eyes the rich and present hire of a little easy soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and virtuous answer. "Father," saith she, "my love towards you is as my duty bids: what should a father seek, what can a child promise more? They, who pretend beyond this, flatter." When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking; with a loyal sadness at her father's infirmity, but something, on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her sisters than speaking her own mind, "Two ways only," saith she, "I have to answer what you require me: the former, your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you." "Then hear thou," quoth Leir, now all in passion, "what thy ingratitude hath gained thee: because thou hast not reverenced thy aged father equal to thy sisters, part in my kingdom, or what else is mine, reckon to have none." And, without delay, gives in marriage his other daughters, Gonorill to Maglaunus duke of Albania, Regan to Henninus duke of Cornwal; with them in present half his kingdom; the rest to follow at his death. In the mean while, fame was not sparing to divulge the wisdom and other graces of Cordeilla, insomuch that Aganippus, a great king in Gaul (however he came by his Greek name, not found in any register of French kings,) seeks her to wife; and nothing altered at the loss of her dowry, receives her gladly in such a manner as she was sent him. After this King Leir, more and more drooping with years, became an easy prey to

his daughters and their husbands; who now, by daily encroachment, had seized the whole kingdom into their hands: and the old king is put to sojourn with his eldest daughter attended only by threescore knights. But they in a short while grudged at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual guests, are reduced to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old king betakes him to his second daughter: but there also, discord soon arising betwen the servants of different masters in one family, five only are suffered to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his eldest could not but have more pity on his gray hairs: but she now refuses to admit him, unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest, Cordeilla, comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had been, though with little hope from whom he had so injured, be it but to pay her the last recompense she can have from him, his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his misery, the proof and experiment of her wisdom, might something soften her, he takes his journey into France. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or downright spoken affection of some children to their parents, and the talkative obsequiousness of others; while the hope of inheritance overacts them, and on the tongue's end enlarges their duty. Cordeilla, out of mere love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the message only of her father in distress, pours forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his messenger declared, discreetly points one of her trusty servants first to convey him privately towards some good sea-town, there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, furnish him with such attendance and state as beseemed his dignity; that then, as from his first landing, he might send word of his arrival to her husband Aganippus. Which done, with all mature and requisite contrivance, Cordeilla, with the king her husband, and all the barony of his realm, who then first had news of his passing the sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, Aganippus, as to his wife's father, and his royal guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the power and disposal of his whole dominion: permitting his wife Cordeilla to go with an army, and set her father upon his throne. Wherein her piety so

prospered, as that she vanquished her impious sisters with those dukes; and Leir again, as saith the story, three years obtained the crown. To whom, dying, Cordeilla, with all regal solemnities, gave burial in the town of Leicester: and then, as right heir succeeding, and her husband dead, ruled the land five years in peace. Until Marganus and Cunedagius, her two sisters' sons, not bearing that a kingdom should be governed by a woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a woman so worthy, make war against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercised to suffer, she there, as is related, killed herself. The victors between them part the land; but Marganus, the eldest sister's son, who held, by agreement, from the north side of Humber to Cathness, incited by those about him, to invade all is his own right, wars on Cunedagius, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a town of Wales, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.

Cunedagius was now sole king, and governed with much praise many years, about the time when Rome was built.

Him succeeded Rivallo his son, wise also and fortunate; save what they tell us of three days raining blood and swarms of stinging flies, whereof men died. In order then Gurgustius, Jago or Lago his nephew; Sisillus, Kinmarcus. Then Gorbogudo, whom others name Gorbodego, and Gorbodion, who had two sons, Ferrex and Porrex. They, in the old age of their father, falling to contend who should succeed, Porrex, attempting by treachery his brother's life, drives him into France; and in his return, though aided by the force of that country, defeats and slays him. But by his mother Videna, who less loved him, is himself, with the assistance of her women, soon after slain in his bed: with whom ended, as is thought, the line of Brutus. Whereupon the whole land, with civil broils, was rent into five kingdoms, long time waging war each on other; and some say fifty years. At length Dunwallo Molmutius, the son of Cloten king of Cornwall, one of the foresaid five, excelling in valour and goodliness of person, after his father's decease, found means to reduce again the whole island into a monarchy; subduing the rest at opportunities. First, Ymner king of Loegria, whom he slew; then Rudaucus of Cambria, Staterus of Albania, confederate together. In which fight Dunwallo is reported, while the victory hung

doubtful, to have used this art. He takes with him 600 stout men, bids them put on the armour of their slain enemies; and so unexpectedly approaching the squadron, where those two kings had placed themselves in fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults and dispatches them. Then displaying his own ensigns, which before he had concealed, and sending notice to the other part of his army what was done, adds to them new courage, and gains a final victory. This Dunwallo was the first in Britain that wore a crown of gold; and therefore by some reputed the first king. He established the Molmutine laws, famous among the English to this day; written long after in Latin by Gildas, and in Saxon by King Alfred: so saith Geoffrey, but Gildas denies to have known aught of the Britains before Cæsar; much less knew Alfred. These laws, who ever made them, bestowed on temples the privilege of sanctuary; to cities also, and the ways thither leading, yea to plows, granted a kind of like refuge; and made such riddance of thieves and robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty years he governed alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the memory of peace restored, had built in Trinovant.

His two sons, Belinus and Brennus, contending about the crown, by decision of friends, came at length to an accord: Brennus to have the north of Humber, Belinus the sovereignty of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whispered to him, whose valour had so oft repelled the invasions of Ceulphus the Morine duke, should now be subject to his brother, upon new design sails into Norway; enters league and affinity with Elsing that king: which Belinus perceiving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the north. Brennus, with a fleet of Norwegians, makes towards Britain; but encountered by Guthlac, the Danish king, who, laying claim to his bride, pursued him on the sea, his haste was retarded, and he bereft of his spouse; who, from the fight, by a sudden tempest, was with the Danish king driven on Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus, nevertheless, finding means to collect his navy, lands in Albania, and gives battle to his brother in the wood Calaterium; but losing the day, escapes with one single ship unto Gaul. Meanwhile the Dane, upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prize, Belinus returns his thoughts to the

administering of justice, and the perfecting of his father's law. And to explain what highways might enjoy the aforesaid privileges, he caused to be drawn out and paved four main roads to the utmost length and breadth of the island and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the Romans. Brennus, on the other side, soliciting to his aid the kings of Gaul, happens at last on Seginus duke of the Allobroges, where his worth, and comeliness of person, won him the duke's daughter and heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and, by obtained leave, passing with a great host through the length of Gaul, gets footing once again in Britain. Now was Belinus unprepared: and now the battle ready to join, Conwenna, the mother of them both, all in a fright, throws herself between; and calling earnestly to Brennus her son, whose absence had so long deprived her of his sight, after embracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against Belinus.

Then are hands joined, reconciliation made firm, and counsel held to turn their united preparations on foreign parts. Thence that by these two all Gallia was overrun, the story tells; and what they did in Italy, and at Rome, (if these be they, and not Gauls, who took that city,) the Roman authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the Monmouth Chronicle; which here, against the stream of history, carries up and down these brethren, now into Germany, then again to Rome, pursuing Gabius and Porsena, two unheard-of consuls. Thus much is more generally believed, that both this Brennus, and another famous captain, Britomarus, whom the epitomist Florus and others mention, were not Gauls, but Britains; the name of the first in that tongue signifying a king, and of the other a great Britain. However, Belinus, after awhile, returning home, the rest of his days ruled in peace, wealth, and honour, above all his predecessors; building some cities, of which one was Caerose upon Osca, since Caerlegion: beautifying others, as Trinovant, with a gate, haven, and a tower, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top whereof his ashes are said to have been laid up in a golden urn.

After him Gurguntius Barbirus was king, mild and just; but yet inheriting his father's courage, he subdued the isl

cian, or Dane, who refused to pay the tribute covenanted to Belinus for his enlargement. In his return, finding about the Orkneys thirty ships of Spain, or Biscay, fraught with men and women for a plantation, whose captain also Barthollinus, wrongfully banished, as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his territory might be assigned them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own men to Ireland, which then lay unpeopled, and gave them that island, to hold of him as in homage. He was buried in Caerlegion, a city which he had walled about.

Guitheline his son is also remembered as a just and good prince: and his wife Martia to have excelled so much in wisdom, as to venture upon a new institution of laws. Which King Alfred translating, called Marchen Leage; but more truly thereby is meant the Mercian law, not translated by Alfred, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her son she had the rule; and then, as may be supposed, brought forth these laws, not herself, for laws are masculine births, but by the advice of her sagest counsellors; and therein she might do virtuously, since it befel her to supply the nonage of her son; else nothing more awry from the law of God and nature, than that a woman should give laws to men.

Her son Sisilius coming to years, received the rule; then in order, Kimarus; then Danius, or Elanius, his brother. Then Morindus, his son by Tanguestela, a concubine, who is recorded a man of excessive strength, valiant, liberal, and fair of aspect, but immanely cruel; not sparing, in his anger, enemy or friend, if any weapon were in his hand. A certain king of the Morians, or Picards, invaded Northumberland; whose army this king, though not wanting sufficient numbers, chiefly by his own prowess overcame; but dishonoured his victory by the cruel usage of his prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence, put all to several deaths: well fitted to such a bestial cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge monster, that from the Irish sea infested the coast, and, in the pride of his strength, foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a brute vastness, when his weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catched up and devoured.

Gorbonian, the eldest of his five sons, than whom a juster man lived not in his age, was a great builder of temples, and

gave to all what was their due: to his gods, devout worship; to men of desert, honour and preferment; to the commons, encouragement in their labours and trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppressions; so that the land flourished above her neighbours; violence and wrong seldom were heard of. His death was a general loss: he was buried in Trinovant.

Archigallo, the second brother, followed not his example; but depressed the ancient nobility; and, by peeling the wealthier sort, stuffed his treasury, and took the right way to be deposed.

Elidure, the next brother, surnamed the Pious, was set up in his place: a mind so noble, and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have been ever found. For, having held the sceptre five years, hunting one day in the forest of Calater, he chanced to meet his deposed brother, wandering in a mean condition; who had been long in vain beyond the seas, importuning foreign aids to his restorement; and was now, in a poor habit, with only ten followers, privately returned to find subsistence among his secret friends. At the unexpected sight of him, Elidure himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open arms; and after many dear and sincere welcomings, conveys him to the city Alclud; there hides him in his own bedchamber. Afterwards feigning himself sick, summons all his peers, as about greatest affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endured not the disturbance of more at once, causes them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear allegiance to Archigallo. Whom, after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to York; and, from his head, places the crown on the head of his brother. Who thenceforth, vice itself dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold, with the admiration of a deed so heroic, became a true converted man; ruled worthily ten years, died, and was buried in Caerleir. Thus was a brother saved by a brother, to whom love of a crown, the thing that so often dazzles and vitiates mortal men, for which thousands of nearest blood have destroyed each other, was in respect of brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing.

Elidure now in his own behalf re-assumes the government, and did as was worthy such a man to do. When Providence, that so great a virtue might want no sort of trial to make it

more illustrious, stirs up Vigenius and Peredure, his youngest brethren, against him who had deserved so nobly of that relation, as least of all by a brother to be injured. Yet him they defeated, him they imprison in the tower of Trinovant, and divide his kingdom, the north to Peredure, the south to Vigenius. After whose death Peredure obtaining all, so much the better used his power, by how much the worse he got it: so that Elidure now is hardly missed. But yet, in all right owing to his elder the due place whereof he had deprived him, fate would that he should die first: and Elidure, after many years' imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the throne; which at last he enjoyed long in peace, finishing the interrupted course of his mild and just reign, as full of virtuous deeds as days to his end.

After these five sons of Morindus, succeeded also their sons in order.[5] Regin of Gorbonian, Marganus of Archigallo, both good kings. But Enniaunus, his brother, taking other courses, was after six years deposed. Then Idwallo, taught by a near example, governed soberly. Then Runno, then Geruntius, he of Peredure, this last of the son of Elidure. From whose loins (for that likely is the durable and surviving race that springs of just progenitors) issued a long descent of kings, whose names only for many successions, without other memory, stand thus registered: Catellus, Coillus, Porrex, Cherin, and his three sons, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Andragius, his son Urianus; Eliud, Eledaucus, Clotenus, Gurguntius Merianus, Bleduno, Capis, Oenus, Sisillius; twenty kings in a continued row, that either did nothing, or lived in ages that wrote nothing; at least, a foul pretermission in the author of this, whether story or fable; himself weary, as seems, of his own tedious tale.

But to make amends for this silence, Blegabredus next succeeding, is recorded to have excelled all before him in the art of musick; opportunely, had he but left us one song of his twenty predecessors' doings.

Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; his brother Archimailus, Eldol, Redion, Rederchius, Samulius, Penissel, Pir, Capoirus; but Cliguellius, with the addition of modest, wise, and just.

His son Heli reigned forty years, and had three sons, Lud,

[5] Matth. Westm.

Cassibelan, and Nennius. This Heli seems to be the same whom Ninius, in his Fragment, calls Minocan; for him he writes to be the father of Cassibelan. Lud was he who enlarged and walled about Trinovent; there kept his court, made it the prime city, and called it from his own name Caerlud, or Lud's town, now London. Which, as is alleged out of Gildas, became matter of great dissension betwixt him and his brother Nennius; who took it heinously that the name of Troy, their ancient country, should be abolished for any new one. Lud was hardy, and bold in war; in peace, a jolly feaster. He conquered many islands in the sea, saith Huntingdon,[6] and was buried by the gate, which from thence we call Ludgate.[7] His two sons, Androgeus and Tenuantius, were left to the tuition of Cassibelan; whose bounty and high demeanour so wrought with the common people, as got him easily the kingdom transferred upon himself. He nevertheless, continuing to favour and support his nephews, confers freely upon Androgeus London with Kent; upon Tenuantius, Cornwal; reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other princes to himself, till the Romans for awhile circumscribed his power. Thus far, though leaning only on the credit of Geoffrey Monmouth, and his assertors, I yet, for the specified causes, have thought it not beneath my purpose to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the belief of other person, nor overhastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing or collating years and chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things, whereof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a reigon of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true colours and shapes. For albeit Cæsar, whose authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who taxed him of misrepresenting in his Commentaries, yea in his civil war against Pompey, much more, may we think, in the British

[6] Huntingd. l. i.

[7] Verstegan denies this; and says it was called so by the Saxons, from Lud, in our ancient language, people and gate, *quasi porta populi*, of all the gates of the city, that having the greatest passage of people; especially before Newgate was built, which was about the reign of Henry II.

affairs, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted; yet now in such variety of good authors, we hardly can miss, from one hand or other, to be sufficiently informed, as of things past so long ago. But this will better be referred to a second discourse.

THE SECOND BOOK.

I AM now to write of what befel the Britons from fifty and three years before the birth of our Saviour, when first the Romans came in, till the decay and ceasing of that empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somewhat more, collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the writers, which those two, the civilest and the wisest of European nations, both Italy and Greece, afforded to the actions of that puissant city. For worthy deeds are not often destitute of worthy relaters: as by a certain fate, great acts and great eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same ages. It is true, that in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilful writers, the indistinct noise of many battles and devastations of many kingdoms, overrun and lost, hath come to our ears. For what wonder, if in all ages ambition and the love of rapine hath stirred up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wasting and ruining wars, which to posterity have left the work of wild beasts and destroyers, rather than the deeds and monuments of men and conquerors? But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of war and dominion not to destroy, but to prevent destruction, to bring in liberty against tyrants, law and civility among barbarous nations, knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer Time or Detraction, wisely conscious of this his want, as well as of his worth not to be forgotten or concealed, honours and hath recourse to the aid of eloquence, his friendliest and best supply; by whose immortal record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, become fixed and durable against the force of years and generations, he fails not to continue through all posterity, over Envy, Death, and Time also victorious. Therefore when the esteem of science and liberal study waxes ow in the commonwealth, we may pre-

sume that also there all civil virtue and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then eloquence as it were consorted in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of virtue, corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her office of relating to illiterate and frivolous historians, such as the persons themselves both deserve, and are best pleased with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining and searching style of an intelligent and faithful writer to the survey of their unsound exploits, better befriended by obscurity than fame. As for these, the only authors we have of British matters, while the power of Rome reached hither, (for Gildas affirms that of the Romans' times no British writer was in his days extant, or if any were, either burnt by enemies or transported with such as fled the Pictish and Saxon invasions,) these therefore only Roman authors there be, who in the Latin tongue have laid together as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a history of Britain. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so near to the beginning, I should have judged this labour, wherein so little seems to be required above transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if aught by diligence may be added or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explained or more expressed, I shall assay.

Julius Cæsar (of whom, and of the Roman free state more than what appertains is not here to be discoursed) having subdued most part of Gallia, which by a potent faction he had obtained of the senate as his province for many years, stirred up with a desire of adding still more glory to his name, and the whole Roman empire to his ambition; some[8] say, with a far meaner and ignobler, the desire of British pearls, whose bigness he delighted to balance in his hand; determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to try his force in the conquest also of Britain. For he understood that the Britons in most of his Gallian wars had sent supplies against him; had received fugitives of the Bellovaci his enemies; and were called over to aid the cities of Armorica, which had the year before conspired all in a new rebellion. Therefore Cæsar,[9] though now the summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a war, yet judged it would be great ad-

[8] Suet. vit. Cæs. [9] Year before Christ 53.

vantage, only to get entrance into the isle, knowledge of men, the places, the ports, the accesses; which then, it seems, were even to the Gauls our neighbours almost unknown. For except merchants and traders, it is not oft,[1] saith he, that any use to travel thither; and to those that do, besides the sea-coast, and the ports next to Gallia, nothing else is known. But here I must require, as Pollio did, the diligence, at least the memory, of Cæsar: for if it were true, as they of Rhemes told him, that Devitiacus, not long before a puissant king of the Soissons, had Britain also under his command, besides the Belgian colonies which he affirms to have named, and peopled many provinces there; if also the Britains had so frequently given them aid in all their wars; if lastly, the Druid learning honoured so much among them, were first taught them out of Britain, and they who soonest would attain that discipline, sent hither to learn;[2] it appears not how Britain at that time should be so utterly unknown in Gallia, or only known to merchants, yea to them so little, that being called together from all parts, none could be found to inform Cæsar of what bigness the isle, what nations, how great, what use of war they had, what laws, or so much as what commodious havens for bigger vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends Caius Volusenus, in a long galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the Morine coast, whence the shortest passage was into Britain. Hither his navy, which he used against the Armoricans, and what else of shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in Britain, the embassadors are sent from many of the states there, who promise hostages and obedience to the Roman empire. Them, after audience given, Cæsar as largely promising and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them Comius of Arras, whom he had made king of that country, and now secretly employed to gain a Roman party among the Britains, in as many cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them that he himself was speeding thither. Volusenus, with what discovery of the island he could make from aboard his ship, not daring to venture on the shore, within five days returns to Cæsar. Who soon after, with two legions, ordinarily amounting, of Romans

[1] Cæs. Com. l. 1. [2] Ib. l. 4.

and their allies, to about 25,000 foot, and 4500 horse, the foot in 80 ships of burden, the horse in 18, besides what galleys were appointed for his chief commanders, sets off, about the third watch of night, with a good gale to sea; leaving behind him Sulpitius Rufus to make good the port with a sufficient strength. But the horse, whose appointed shipping lay windbound eight mile upward in another haven, had much trouble to embark. Cæsar, now within sight of Britain, beholds on every hill multitudes of armed men ready to forbid his landing; and Cicero[3] writes to his friend Atticus, that the accesses of the island were wondrously fortified with strong works or moles. Here from the fourth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at anchor the coming up of his whole fleet. Meanwhile, with his legates and tribunes, consulting and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in such a various and floating waterfight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow bay, close environed with hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open shore eight miles distant; commonly supposed about Deal in Kent.[4] Which when the Britons perceived, their horse and chariots, as then they used in fight scowering before, their main power speeding after, some thick upon the shore, others not tarrying to be assailed, ride in among the waves to encounter, and assault the Romans even under their ships, with such a bold and free hardihood, that Cæsar himself between confessing and excusing that his soldiers were to come down from their ships, to stand in water heavy armed, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terror of such new and resolute opposition made them forget their wonted valour. To succour which he commands his galleys, a sight unusual to the Britons, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger vessels, to row against the open side of the enemy, and thence with slings, engines, and darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amazed at the strangeness of those new seacastles, bearing up so near, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of oars, the battering of fierce engines against their bodies barely exposed, did the Britons give much ground, or the Romans gain, till he who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, yet in the galleys, after beseeching his gods, said thus aloud, "Leap down, soldiers, unless you

[3] Cic. Att. l. 4. Ep. 17. [4] Camden.

mean to betray your ensign; I for my part will perform what I owe to the commonwealth and my general." This uttered, overboard he leaps, and with his eagle fiercely advanced runs upon the enemy; the rest heartening one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh losing their chief standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew their own advantages, and expertly used them now in the shallows, now on the sand, still as the Romans went trooping to their ensigns, received them, dispatched them, and with the help of their horse, put them every where to great disorder. But Cæsar causing all his boats and shallops to be filled with soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with relief where they saw need; whereby at length all the foot now disembarked, and got together in some order and on firm ground, with a more steady charge put the Britons to flight: but wanting all their horse, whom the winds yet withheld from sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused fight,[6] Scæva, a Roman soldier, having pressed too far among the Britons, and beset round, after incredible valour shown, single against a multitude, swam back safe to his general; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against discipline; which modest confession after no bad event, for such a deed, wherein valour and ingenuity so much outweighed transgression, easily made amends and preferred him to be a centurion. Cæsar also is brought in by Julian,[7] attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustained) of being the first that left his ship, and took land: but this were to make Cæsar less understand what became him than Scæva. The Britons finding themselves mastered in fight, forthwith send ambassadors to treat of peace, promising to give hostages, and to be at command. With them Comius of Arras also returned; whom hitherto, since his first coming from Cæsar, they had detained in prison as a spy: the blame whereof they lay on the common people; for whose violence, and their own imprudence, they crave pardon. Cæsar complaining they had first sought peace, and then without cause had begun war, yet content to pardon them, commands hostages: whereof part they bring in straight, others, far up in the country to be sent for, they pro-

[6] Valer. Max. Plutarch. [7] In Cæsaribus.

mise in a few days. Meanwhile the people disbanded and sent home, many princes and chief men from all parts of the isle submit themselves and their cities to the dispose of Cæsar, who lay then encamped, as is thought, on Barham down. Thus had the Britons made their peace; when suddenly an accident unlooked for put new counsels into their minds. Four days after the coming of Cæsar, those eighteen ships of burden, which from the upper haven had taken in all the Roman horse, borne with a soft wind to the very coast, in sight of the Roman camp, were by a sudden tempest scattered and driven back, some to the port from whence they loosed, others down into the west country; who finding there no safety either to land or to cast anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled sea; and, as Orosius reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being full moon, the galleys left upon dry land, were, unaware to the Romans, covered with a springtide, and the greater ships, that lay off at anchor, torn and beaten with waves, to the great perplexity of Cæsar, and his whole army; who now had neither shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay here, intending to have wintered in Gallia. All this the Britons well perceiving, and by the compass of his camp, which without baggage appeared the smaller, guessing at his numbers, consult together, and one by one slyly withdrawing from the camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a peace, resolve to stop all provisions, and to draw out the business till winter. Cæsar, though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and their other hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide space, all that might be, against what might happen; lays in corn, and with materials fetched from the continent, and what was left of those ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant labour of his soldiers, all but twelve were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the legions being sent out to forage, as was accustomed, and no suspicion of war, while some of the Britons were remaining in the country about, others also going and coming freely to the Roman quarters, they who were in station at the camp gates sent speedily word to Cæsar, that from that part of the country, to which the legion went, a greater dust than usual was seen

to rise. Cæsar guessing the matter, commands the cohorts of guard to follow him thither, two others to succeed in their stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not marched long, when Cæsar discerns his legion sore overcharged: for the Britons not doubting but that their enemies on the morrow would be in that place, which only they had left unreaped of all their harvest, had placed an ambush; and while they were dispersed and busiest at their labour, set upon them, killed some, and routed the rest. The manner of their fight was from a kind of chariots: wherein riding about and throwing darts, with the clutter of their horse, and of their wheels, they ofttimes broke the rank of their enemies; then retreating among the horse, and quitting their chariots, they fought on foot. The charioteers in the mean while somewhat aside from the battle, set themselves in such order that their masters at any time oppressed with odds, might retire safely thither, having performed with one person both the nimble service of a horseman, and the steadfast duty of a foot soldier. So much they could with their chariots by use and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swiftly, now running on the beam, now on the yoke, then in the seat. With this sort of new skirmishing the Romans now over-matched and terrified, Cæsar with opportune aid appears; for then the Britons make a stand: but he considering that now was not fit time to offer battle, while his men were scarce recovered of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his legions to the camp. Further action for many days following was hindered on both sides by foul weather; in which time the Britons dispatching messengers round about, learn to how few the Romans were reduced, what hope of praise and booty, and now, if ever, of freeing themselves from the fear of like invasions hereafter, by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp their enemies; at this intimation multitudes of horse and foot coming down from all parts, make towards the Romans. Cæsar foreseeing that the Britons, though beaten and put to flight, would easily evade his foot, yet with no more than thirty horse, which Comius had brought over, draws out his men to battle, puts again the Britons to flight, pursues with slaughter, and returning burns and lays waste all about. Whereupon ambassadors the same day being sent from the

Britains to desire peace, Cæsar as his affairs at present stood, for so great a breach of faith, only imposes on them double the former hostages to be sent after him into Gallia: and because September was nigh half spent, a season not fit to tempt the sea with his weatherbeaten fleet, the same night with a fair wind he departs towards Belgia; whither two only of the British cities sent hostages, as they promised, the rest neglected. But at Rome when the news came of Cæsar's acts here, whether it were esteemed a conquest or a fair escape, supplication of twenty days is decreed by the senate, as either for an exploit done, or a discovery made, wherein both Cæsar and the Romans gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him or to the commonwealth.

The winter following,[7] Cæsar, as his custom was, going into Italy, when as he saw that most of the Britains regarded not to send their hostages, appoints his legates whom he left in Belgia, to provide what possible shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to be, as thereby easier both to freight, and to hale ashore; nor needed to be higher, because the tide so often changing, was observed to make the billows less in our sea than those in the Mediterranean: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of horses, and all other freightage, being intended chiefly to that end. These all about six hundred in a readiness, with twenty-eight ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks, about two hundred, Cotta one of the legates wrote them, as Athenæus affirms, in all one thousand; Cæsar from port Iccius, a passage of some thirty mile over, leaving behind him Labienus to guard the haven, and for other supply at need, with five legions, though but two thousand horse, about sunset hoisting sail with a slack south-west, at midnight was becalmed. And finding when it was light, that the whole navy lying on the current, had fallen off from the isle, which now they could descry on their left hand; by the unwearied labour of his soldiers, who refused not to tug the oar, and kept course with ships under sail, he bore up as near as might be, to the same place where he had landed the year before; where about noon arriving,[8] no enemy could be seen. For the Britons, which in great number, as was after known, had been there, at sight of so huge a fleet durst not abide. Cæsar

[7] Dion, Cæsar Com. 5. [8] Before the birth of Christ, 52.

forthwith landing his army, and encamping to his best advantage, some notice being given him by those he took, where to find his enemy; with the whole power, save only ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, left to Quintus Atrius for the guard of his ships, about the third watch of the same night, marches up twelve miles into the country. And at length by a river, commonly thought the Stowre in Kent, espies embattled the British forces. They with their horses and chariots advancing to the higher banks, oppose the Romans in their march, and begin the fight; but repulsed by the Roman cavalry, give back into the woods to a place notably made strong both by art and nature; which, it seems, had been a fort, or hold of strength raised heretofore in time of wars among themselves. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge trees overthwart one another, was quite barred up; and within these the Britons did their utmost to keep out the enemy. But the soldiers of the seventh legion locking all their shields together like a roof close over head, and others raising a mount, without much loss of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the woods. Pursuit they made not long, as being through ways unknown; and now evening came on, which they more wisely spent in choosing out where to pitch and fortify their camp that night. The next morning Cæsar had but newly sent out his men in three bodies to pursue, and the last no further gone than yet in sight, when horsemen all in post from Quintus Atrius bring word to Cæsar, that almost all his ships in a tempest that night suffered wreck, and lay broken upon the shore. Cæsar at this news recalls his legions, himself in all haste riding back to the seaside, beheld with his eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn and shaken, as not to be new-rigged without much labour. Straight he assembles what number of shipwrights either in his own legions or from beyond sea could be summoned, appoints Labienus on the Belgian side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting the soldiers day or night, drew up all his ships, and intrenched them round within the circuit of his camp. This done, and leaving to their defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole forces to the same wood, where he had defeated the Britons; who preventing him with greater powers than before,

had now repossessed themselves of the place, under Cassibelan their chief leader: whose territory from the states bordering on the sea was divided by the river Thames about eighty miles inward. With him formerly other cities had continual war; but now in the common danger had all made choice of him to be their general. Here the British horse and charioteers meeting with the Roman cavalry fought stoutly; and at first, something overmatched, they retreat to the near advantage of their woods and hills, but still followed by the Romans, made head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while Cæsar, who thought the day's work had been done, was busied about the intrenching of his camp, march out again, give fierce assault to the very stations of his guards and sentries; and while the main cohorts of two legions, that were sent to the alarm, stood within a small distance of each other, terrified at the newness and boldness of their fight, charged back again through the midst, without the loss of a man. Of the Romans that day was slain Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune; the Britons having fought their fill at the very entrance of Cæsar's camp, and sustained the resistance of his whole army intrenched, gave over the assault. Cæsar here acknowledges, that the Roman way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of enemy; for that the foot in heavy armour could not follow their cunning fight, and durst not by ancient discipline stir from their ensign; and the horse alone disjoined from the legions, against a foe that turned suddenly upon them with a mixed encounter both of horse and foot, were in equal danger both following and retiring. Besides their fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions and open distances to make their onset; appointing others at certain spaces, now to relieve and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argued no small experience, and use of arms. Next day the Britons afar off upon the hills begin to show themselves here and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the Roman horse. But at noon Cæsar having sent out three legions, and all his horse, with Trebonius the legate, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the foragers, and charge up after them to the very legions, and their standards. The Romans with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, being well

seconded by the legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from their chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the Britons that dwelt farther off betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a power against Cæsar. Whereof advertised, he marches onward to the frontiers of Cassibelan,[1] which on this side was bounded by the Thames, not passable except in one place, and that difficult, about Cowey-stakes near Oatlands, as is conjectured. Hither coming he descries on the other side great forces of the enemy, placed in good array; the bank set all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, covered with water; whereof the marks, in Beda's time, were to be seen, as he relates. This having learned by such as were taken, or had run to him, he first commands his horse to pass over; then his foot, who wading up to the neck, went on so resolutely and so fast, that they on the other side, not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. Cassibelan no more now in hope to contend for victory, dismissing all but four thousand of those charioteers, through woods and intricate ways attends their motion; where the Romans are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual sallies upon the horse, where they had least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compels them so close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or booty without ill success. Whereupon Cæsar strictly commanding all not to part from the legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty fields and houses, which he spoiled and burnt. Meanwhile the Trinobantes, a state or kingdom, and perhaps the greatest then among the Britons, less favouring Cassibelan, send ambassadors, and yield to Cæsar upon this reason. Immanuentius had been their king; him Cassibelan had slain, and purposed the like to Mandubratius his son, whom Orosius calls Androgorius, Beda Androgius; but the youth escaping by flight into Gallia, put himself under the protection of Cæsar. These entreat, that Mandubratius may be still defended, and sent home to succeed in his father's right. Cæsar sends him, demands forty hostages and provision for his army, which they immediately bring in, and have their confines protected from the soldiers. By their example the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi (so I write them, for the modern

[1] Camden.

names are but guessed) on like terms make their peace. By them he learns that the town of Cassibelan, supposed to be Verulam, was not far distant; fenced about with woods and marshes, well stuffed with men and much cattle. For towns then in Britain were only woody places ditched round, and with a mud wall encompassed against the inroads of enemies. Thither goes Cæsar with his legions, and though a place of great strength both by art and nature, assaults it in two places. The Britons after some defence fled out all at another end of the town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of cattle found there. Cassibelan for all these losses yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his authority so much impaired, but that in Kent, though in a manner possessed by the enemy, his messengers and commands find obedience enough to raise all the people. By his direction, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, four kings reigning in those countries which lie upon the sea, lead them on to assault that camp, wherein the Romans had entrenched their shipping: but they whom Cæsar left there issuing out slew many, and took prisoner Cingetorix a noted leader, without loss of their own. Cassibelan after so many defeats, moved especially by revolt of the cities from him, their inconstancy and falsehood one to another, uses mediation by Comius of Arras to send ambassadors about treaty of yielding. Cæsar, who had determined to winter in the continent, by reason that Gallia was unsettled, and not much of the summer now behind, commands him only hostages, and what yearly tribute the island should pay to Rome, forbids him to molest the Trinobantes, or Mandubratius; and with his hostages, and a great number of captives, he puts to sea, having at twice embarked his whole army. At his return to Rome, as from a glorious enterprise, he offers to Venus, the patroness of his family, a coralet of British pearls.[1]

Howbeit other ancient writers have spoken more doubtfully of Cæsar's victories here; and that in plain terms he fled from hence; for which the common verse in Lucan, with divers passages here and there in Tacitus, is alleged. Paulus Orosius,[2] who took what he wrote from a history of Suetonius now lost, writes, that Cæsar in his first journey, entertained with a sharp fight, lost no small number of his foot, and by

[1] Pliny. [2] Oros. lib. 6, c. 7 and 9.

tempest nigh all his horse. Dion affirms, that once in the second expedition all his foot were routed; Orosius that another time all his horse. The British author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial discourses of Cæsar's being here, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of Cassibelan, than what the same story tells, how he warred soon after with Androgeus, about his nephew slain by Evelinus nephew to the other; which business at length composed, Cassibelan dies, and was buried in York, if the Monmouth book fable not. But at Cæsar's coming hither, such likeliest were the Britons, as the writers of those times,[3] and their own actions represent them; in courage and warlike readiness to take advantage by ambush or sudden onset, not inferior to the Romans, nor Cassibelan to Cæsar; in weapons, arms, and the skill of encamping, embattling, fortifying, overmatched; their weapons were a short spear and light target, a sword also by their side, their fight sometimes in chariots fanged at the axle with iron sithes, their bodies most part naked, only painted, with woad in sundry figures, to seem terrible,[4] as they thought, but, pursued by enemies, not nice of their painting to run into bogs worse than wild Irish up to the neck, and there to stay many days holding a certain morsel in their mouths no bigger than a bean, to suffice hunger;[5] but that receipt, and the temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us: their town and strong holds were spaces of ground fenced about with a ditch, and great trees felled overthwart each other, their buildings within were thatched houses for themselves and their cattle: in peace the upland inhabitants, besides hunting, tended their flocks and herds, but with little skill of country affairs; the making of cheese they commonly knew not, wool or flax they spun not, gardening and planting many of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what the skins of beasts afforded them,[6] and that not always; yet gallantry they had,[7] painting their own skins with several portraitures of beast, bird, or flower, a vanity which hath not yet left us, removed only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many coloured ribands and gewgaws: towards the seaside they tilled the ground, and lived much after the manner of Gauls their neigh-

[3] Dion, Mela, Cæsar. [4] Herodian. [5] Dion.
[6] Herodian. [7] Solinus.

bours, or first planters:[9] their money was brazen pieces or iron rings, their best merchandize tin, the rest trifles of glass, ivory, and such like:[1] yet gems and pearls they had, saith Mela, in some rivers: their ships of light timber wickered with ozier between, and covered over with leather, served not therefore to transport them far, and their commodities were fetched away by foreign merchants: their dealing, saith Diodorus, plain and simple without fraud; their civil government under many princes and states,[1] not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and ofttimes warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easy conquest to the Romans: their religion was governed by a sort of priests or magicians, called Druids from the Greek name of an oak, which tree they had in great reverence, and the mistletoe especially growing thereon. Pliny writes them skilled in magic no less than those of Persia; by their abstaining from a hen, a hare, and a goose, from fish also, saith Dion, and their opinion of the soul's passing after death into other bodies,[2] they may be thought to have studied Pythagoras; yet philosophers I cannot call them, reported men factious and ambitious, contending sometimes about the archpriesthood not without civil war and slaughter; nor restrained they the people under them from a lewd, adulterous, and incestuous life, ten or twelve men, absurdly against nature, possessing one woman as their common wife, though of nearest kin, mother, daughter, or sister; progenitors not to be gloried in. But the gospel, not long after preached here, abolished such impurities, and of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some civility; likely else to have continued longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life. After Julius (for Julius before his death tyrannously had made himself emperor of the Roman commonwealth, and was slain in the senate for so doing) he who next obtained the empire, Octavianus Cæsar Augustus, either contemning the island, as Strabo[3] would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having nor enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholesome state-maxim, as some say, to moderate and bound the empire from growing vast and unwieldy, made no attempt against the Britons. But the truer cause was partly

[9] Cæsar. [9] Tacitus, Diodor. Strabo, Lucan. [1] Tacitus.
[2] Cæsar. [3] Strabo, l. 2.

civil war among the Romans, partly other affairs more urging. For about twenty years after,[4] all which time the Britons had lived at their own dispose, Augustus, in imitation of his uncle Julius, either intending or seeming to intend an expedition hither, was come into Gallia, when the news of a revolt in Pannonia diverted him:[5] about seven years after in the same resolution, what with the unsettledness of Gallia, and what with ambassadors from Britain which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference arising about covenants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in Spain. Nevertheless some of the British potentates omitted not to seek his friendship by gifts offered in the Capitol, and other obsequious addresses. Insomuch that the whole island[6] became even in those days well known to the Romans; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were so like to prove enemies. But as for tribute, the Britons paid none to Augustus, except what easy customs were levied on the slight commodities wherewith they traded into Gallia.

After Cassibelan, Tenantius the younger son of Lud, according to the Monmouth story, was made king. For Androgeus the elder, conceiving himself generally hated for siding with the Romans, forsook his claim here, and followed Cæsar's fortune. This king is recorded just and warlike.

His son Kymbeline, or Cunobeline, succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the court of Augustus, and with him held friendly correspondences to the end; was a warlike prince; his chief seat Camalodunum, or Maldon, as by certain of his coins, yet to be seen, appears. Tiberius, the next emperor, adhering always to the advice of Augustus, and of himself less caring to extend the bounds of his empire, sought not the Britons; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the soldiers of Germanicus, that by shipwreck had been cast on the British shore.[7] But Caligula,[8] his successor, a wild and dissolute tyrant, having passed the Alps with intent to rob and spoil those provinces, and stirred up by Adminius the son of Cunobeline; who, by his father banished, with a small number fled thither to him, made semblance of marching

[4] Year before the birth of Christ, 32.
[5] Dion, l. 49; year before the birth of Christ, 25: Dion, l. 53, 24.
[6] Strabo, l. 4. [7] Tacit. An. l. 2.
[8] Year after the birth of Christ 16. Dion. Sueton. Cal. An. Dom. 40.

toward Britain, but being come to the ocean, and there behaving himself madly and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting letters to the senate, as if all Britain had been yielded him. Cunobeline now dead, Adminius the eldest by his father banished from his country, and by his own practice against it from the crown, though by an old coin seeming to have also reigned; Togodumnus, and Caractacus the two younger, uncertain whether unequal or subordinate in power, were advanced into his place. But through civil discord, Bericus (what he was further, is not known) with others of his party flying to Rome,[9] persuaded Claudius the emperor to an invasion. Claudius now consul the third time, and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the honour of a triumph, at the persuasion of these fugitives, whom the Britons demanding, he had denied to render, and they for that cause had denied further amity with Rome, makes choice of this island for his province:[1] and sends before him Aulus Plautius the prætor, with this command, if the business grew difficult, to give him notice. Plautius with much ado persuaded the legions to move out of Gallia, murmuring that now they must be put to make war beyond the world's end, for so they counted Britain; and what welcome Julius the dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevailed with, and hoisting sail from three several ports, lest their landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross winds, they were cast back and disheartened; till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the East, and as they fancied directing their course, they took heart again to try the sea, and without opposition landed. For the Britons, having heard of their unwillingness to come, had been negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the woods and moors, intended to frustrate and wear them out with delays, as they had served Cæsar before. Plautius, after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with Caractacus, then with Togodumnus, overthrew them; and receiving into conditions part of the Boduni, who then were subject to the Catuellani, and leaving there a garrison, went on toward a river: where the Britons not imagining that Plautius without a bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he sending first the Germans, whose custom was, armed as they were, to swim

[9] Dion. [1] 43. Sueton.

with ease the strongest current, commands them to strike especially at the horses, whereby the chariots, wherein consisted their chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent Vespasian, who in his latter days obtained the empire, and Sabinus his brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the Britons dismayed; but reuniting the next day, fought with such courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the victory: till Caius Sidius Geta, at point to have been taken, recovered himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at Rome he received high honours. After this the Britons drew back toward the mouth of the Thames, and, acquainted with those places, crossed over; where the Romans following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the Germans getting over, and others by a bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry alarms and great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into bogs and mires, lost as many of their own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the Britons more enraged at the death of Togodumnus, who in one of these battles had been slain, Plautius fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoined him, sends to Claudius. He who waited ready with huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flower of all his Romans, like a great Eastern king, with armed elephants marches through Gallia. So full of peril was this enterprise esteemed, as not without all this equipage, and stranger terrors than Roman armies, to meet the native and the naked British valour defending their country. Joined with Plautius, who encamping on the bank of Thames attended him, he passes the river. The Britons, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct of old Cassibelan, laying all stratagem aside, in downright manhood scruple not to affront in open field almost the whole power of the Roman empire. But overcome and vanquished, part by force, others by treaty come in and yield. Claudius therefore, who took Camalodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, was often by the army saluted Imperator; a military title which usually they gave their general after any notable exploit; but to others, not above once in the same war; as if Claudius, by these acts, had deserved more than the laws of Rome had provided honour to reward. Having

therefore disarmed the Britons, but remitted the confiscation of their goods,[2] for which they worshipped him with sacrifice and temple as a god, leaving Plautius to subdue what remained; he returns to Rome, from whence he had been absent only six months, and in Britain but sixteen days; sending the news before him of his victories, though in a small part of the island. By which is manifestly refuted that which Eutropius and Orosius write of his conquering at that time also the Orcades islands, lying to the north of Scotland; and not conquered by the Romans (for aught found in any good author) till above forty years after, as shall appear. To Claudius the senate, as for achievements of highest merit, decreed excessive honours; arches, triumphs, annual solemnities, and the surname of Britannicus both to him and his son.

Suetonius writes, that Claudius found here no resistance, and that all was done without a stroke: but this seems not probable. The Monmouth writer names these two sons of Cunobeline, Guiderius and Arviragus; that Guiderius being slain in fight, Arviragus, to conceal it, put on his brother's habiliments, and in his person held up the battle to a victory; the rest, as of Hano the Roman captain, Genuissa, the emperor's daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of truth. Plautius after this, employing his fresh forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of triumphant riding into the Capitol side by side with the emperor.[3] Vespasian also under Plautius had thirty conflicts with the enemy; in one of which encompassed, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescued by his son Titus:[4] two powerful nations he subdued here, above twenty towns and the Isle of Wight; for which he received at Rome triumphal ornaments, and other great dignities. For that city in reward of virtue was ever magnificent; and long after when true merit was ceased among them, lest anything resembling virtue should want honour, the same rewards were yet allowed to the very shadow and ostentation of merit. Ostorius in the room of Plautius vicepraetor met with turbulent affairs;[5] the Britons not ceasing to vex with inroads all those countries that were yielded to the Romans; and now the more eagerly,[6]

[2] Dion. l. 62. Tacit. an. 14, 44. [3] Sueton. Claud. 5, 24.
[4] Sueton. Vesp. Dio. l. 60, 47, [5] 50. Tacit. an. 12. [6] Eutropius.

supposing that the new general, unacquainted with his army, and on the edge of winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he weighing that first events were most available to breed fear or contempt, with such cohorts as were next at hand, sets out against them: whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every day molested with the cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldened enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many garrisons upon the rivers of Antona and Sabrina. But the Iceuians, a stout people, untouched yet by these wars, as having before sought alliance with the Romans, were the first that brooked not this. By their example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenced with high banks of earth and narrow lanes to prevent the horse, warily encamp. Ostorius though yet not strengthened with his legions, causes the auxiliar bands, his troops also alighting, to assault the rampart. They within, though pestered with their own number, stood to it like men resolved, and in a narrow compass did remarkable deeds. But overpowered at last, and others by their success quieted, who till then wavered, Ostorius next bends his force upon the Cangians, wasting all even to the sea of Ireland, without foe in his way, or them, who durst, ill handled, when the Brigantes, attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punished, the rest forgiven, soon gave over; but the Silures, no way tractable, were not to be repressed without a set war. To further this, Camalodunum was planted with a colony of veteran soldiers, to be a firm and ready aid against revolts, and a means to teach the natives the Roman law and civility. Cogidunus also a British king, their fast friend, had to the same intent certain cities given him:[7] a haughty craft, which the Romans used, to make kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the Silures, hardy of themselves, relied more on the valour of Caractacus; whom many doubtful, many prosperous successes had made eminent above all that ruled in Britain. He, adding to his courage policy, and knowing himself to be of strength inferior, in other advantages the better, makes the seat of his war among the Ordovices; a country wherein all

[7] Tacit. vit. Agric.

the odds were to his own party, all the difficulties to his enemy. The hills and every access he fortified with heaps of stones, and guards of men; to come at whom a river of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as Camden conjectures, had thence the name of Caer-ca-radoc on the west edge of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his officers and leaders, that "this was the day, this the field, either to defend their liberty or to die free;" calling to mind the names of his glorious ancestors, who drove Cæsar the dictator out of Britain, whose valour hitherto had preserved them from bondage, their wives and children from dishonour. Inflamed with these words, they all avow their utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amazed the Roman general; but the soldiers less weighing, because less knowing, clamoured to be led on against any danger. Ostorius, after wary circumspection, bids them pass the river: the Britons no sooner had them within reach of their arrows, darts, and stones, but slew and wounded largely of the Romans. They on the other side closing their ranks, and over head closing their targets, threw down the loose rampires of the Britons, and pursue them up the hills, both light and armed legions; till what with galling darts and heavy strokes, the Britons, who wore neither helmet nor cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the Romans thought a famous victory; wherein the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken, his brothers also reduced to obedience; himself escaping to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, against faith given was to the victors delivered bound; having held out against the Romans nine years, saith Tacitus, but by truer computation, seven. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoining provinces, even to Italy and Rome; many desiring to see who he was, that could stand so many years the Roman puissance: and Cæsar to extol his own victory, extolled the man whom he had vanquished. Being brought to Rome, the people as to a solemn spectacle were called together, the emperor's guard stood in arms. In order came first the king's servants, bearing his trophies won in other wars, next his brothers, wife, and daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others, through fear, was low and degenerate; he only neither in countenance, word, or action submissive, standing at the tribunal of Claudius, briefly spake to this purpose: "If my mind, Cæsar, had

been as moderate in the height of fortune, as my birth and dignity was eminent, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city. Nor couldst thou have disliked him for a confederate, so noble of descent, and ruling so many nations. My present estate to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious. I had riches, horses, arms, and men; no wonder then if I contended not to lose them. But if by fate, yours only must be empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had been brought to yield, my misfortune had been less notorious, your conquest had been less renowned; and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgotten. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so near divine, the clemency of a conqueror." Cæsar moved by such a spectacle of fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissively thank him, and did like reverence to Agrippina the emperor's wife, who sat by in state, a new and disdained sight to the manly eyes of the Romans, a woman sitting public in her female pride among ensigns and armed cohorts. To Ostorius triumph is decreed; and his acts esteemed equal to theirs, that brought in bonds to Rome famousest kings. But the same prosperity attended not his later actions here; for the Silures, whether to revenge their loss of Caractacus, or that they saw Ostorius, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, beset the prefect of his camp, left there with legionary bands to appoint garrisons: and had not speedy aid come in from the neighbouring holds and castles, had cut them all off; notwithstanding which, the prefect with eight centurions, and many their stoutest men, were slain: and upon the neck of this, meeting first with Roman foragers, then with other troops hasting to their relief, utterly foiled and broke them also. Ostorius sending more after, could hardly stay their flight; till the weighty legions coming on, at first poised the battle, at length turned the scale: to the Britons without much loss, for by that time it grew night. Then was the war shivered, as it were, into small frays and bickerings; not unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in woods, at waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashness led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the Silures, was a report of certain words

cast out by the emperor, "That he would root them out to the very name." Therefore two cohorts more of auxiliars, by the avarice of their leaders too securely pillaging, they quite intercepted; and bestowing liberally the spoils and captives, whereof they took plenty, drew other countries to join with them. These losses falling so thick upon the Romans, Ostorius with the thought and anguish thereof ended his days; the Britons rejoicing, although no battle, that yet adverse war had worn out so great a soldier. Cæsar in his place ordains Aulus Didius: but ere his coming, though much hastened, that the province might not want a governor, the Silures had given an overthrow to Manlius Valens with his legion, rumoured on both sides greater than was true, by the Silures to animate the new general, by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he quelled them, or the more excuse if he failed. Meantime the Silures forgot not to infest the Roman pale with wide excursions; till Didius marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after Caractacus should lead them, for next to him in worth and skill of war, Venutius, a prince of the Brigantes, merited to be their chief. He at first faithful to the Romans, and by them protected, was the husband of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betrayed Caractacus and her country to adorn the triumph of Claudius, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the Romans, presuming on the hire of her treason, deserted her husband, and marrying Vellocatus one of his squires, confers on him the kingdom also. This deed so odious and full of infamy, disturbed the whole state; Venutius with other forces, and the help of her own subjects, who detested the example of so foul a fact, and withal the uncomeliness of their subjection to the monarchy of a woman, a piece of manhood not every day to be found among the Britons, though she had got by subtile train his brother with many of his kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When imploring the Roman aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter, she escaped the punishment which was ready to have seized her. Venutius thus debarred the authority of ruling his own household, justly turns his anger against the Romans themselves, whose magnanimity not wont to undertake dishonourable causes, had arrogantly

intermeddled in his domestic affairs, to uphold the rebellion of an adulteress against her husband. And the kingdom he retained against their utmost opposition; and of war gave them their fill; first in a sharp conflict of uncertain event, then against the legion of Cæsius Nasica. Insomuch that Didius growing old, and managing the war by deputies, had work enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small castle. And Nero[8] (for in that part of the isle things continued in the same plight to the reign of Vespasian) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the Roman forces out of Britain: in other parts whereof, about the same time other things befel.[9] Verannius, whom Nero sent hither to succeed Didius, dying in his first year, save a few inroads upon the Silures, left only a great boast behind him, "That in two years, had he lived, he would have conquered all." But Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither esteemed a soldier equal to the best of that age, for two years together went on prosperously, both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last over-confident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it seems, had both entertained fugitives, and given good assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him boats with flat bottoms, fitted to the shallows which he expected in the narrow frith; his foot so passed over, his horse waded or swam. Thick upon the shore stood several gross bands of men well weaponed, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit, with hair loose about their shoulders, held torches in their hands. The Druids (those were their priests, of whom more in another place) with hands lift up to Heaven uttering direful prayers, astonished the Romans; who at so strange a sight stood in amaze, though wounded: at length awakened and encouraged by their general, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fell on, and beat them down scorched and rolling in their own fire. Then were they yoked with garrisons, and the places consecrate to their bloody superstitions destroyed. For whom they took in war, they held it lawful to sacrifice; and by the entrails of men used divination. While thus Paulinus had his thought still

[8] Tacit. vit. Agric. [9] Tacit. Hist. 3. Sueton.

fixed before to go on winning, his back lay broad open to occasion of losing more behind: for the Britons, urged and oppressed with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a general revolt. The particular causes are not all written by one author; Tacitus who lived next those times of any to us extant, writes that Prasutagus king of the Icenians, abounding in wealth, had left Cæsar coheir with his two daughters; thereby hoping to have secured from all wrong both his kingdom and his house; which fell out far otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the emperor's new inheritance, his kingdom became a prey to centurions, his house to ravening officers, his wife Boadicea violated with stripes, his daughters with rape, the wealthiest of his subjects, as it were, by the will and testament of their king thrown out of their estates, his kindred made little better than slaves. The new colony also at Camalodunum took house or land from whom they pleased, terming them slaves and vassals; the soldiers complying with the colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselves. Moreover the temple erected to Claudius as a badge of their eternal slavery, stood a great eyesore; the priests whereof, under pretext of what was due to the religious service, wasted and embezzled each man's substance upon themselves. And Catus Decianus the procurator endeavoured to bring all their goods within the compass of new confiscation,[1] by disavowing the remitment of Claudius. Lastly, Seneca, in his books a philosopher, having drawn the Britons unwillingly to borrow of him vast sums upon fair promises of easy loan, and for repayment take their own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provked by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunites in the absence of Paulinus, the Icenians, and by their examples the Trinobantes, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in arms. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signs appeared, the image of victory at Camalodunum fell down of itself with her face turned, as it were, to the Britons; certain woman, in a kind of ecstacy, foretold of calamities to come: in the council house were heard by night barbarous noises; in the theatre hideous howlings, in the creek horrid sights, betokening the destruction of that colony:

[1] Dion.

hereto the ocean seeming of a bloody hue, and human shapes at low ebb, left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the Britons new courage, in the Romans unwonted fears. Camalodunum, where the Romans had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortified; against that therefore the Britons make first assault. The soldiers within were not very many. Decianus the procurator could send them but two hundred, those ill armed; and through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favoured the insurrection, they had deferred both to entrench, and to send out such as bore not arms; such as did, flying to the temple, which on the second day was forcibly taken, were all put to the sword, the temple made a heap, the rest rifled and burnt. Petilius Cerealis coming to his succour, is in his way met and overthrown, his whole legion cut to pieces; he with his horse hardly escaping to the Roman camp. Decianus, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into Gallia. But Suetonius at these tidings not dismayed, through the midst of his enemy's country, marches to London (though not termed a colony, yet full of Roman inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade, and other commodities, a town even then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of war. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of Petilius, he chooses rather with the loss of one town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who through weakness of sex or age, or love of the place, went not along, perished by the enemy; so did Verulam, a Roman free town. For the Britons omitting forts and castles, flew thither first where richest booty and the hope of pillaging tolled them on. In this massacre about seventy thousand Romans and their associates, in the places above mentioned, of certain lost their lives. None might be spared, none ransomed, but tasted all either a present or a lingering death; no cruelty that either outrage or the insolence of success put into their heads, was left unacted. The Roman wives and virgins hanged up all naked,[2] had their breasts cut off, and sewed to their mouths; that in the grimness of death they might seem to eat their

[2] Dion. l. 62.

own flesh; while the Britons fell to feasting and carousing in the temple of Andate their goddess of victory. Suetonius adding to his legion other old officers and soldiers thereabout, which gathered to him, were near upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to defer battle, had chosen a place narrow, and not to be overwinged, on his rear a wood; being well informed that his enemy were all in front on a plain unapt for ambush: the legionaries stood thick in order, empaled with light armed; the horse on either wing. The Britons in companies and squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckoned than two hundred and thirty thousand: so fierce and confident of victory, that their wives also came in wagons to sit and behold the sports, as they made full account of killing Romans: a folly doubtless for the serious Romans to smile at, as a sure token of prospering that day: a woman also was their commander in chief. For Boadicea and her daughters ride about in a chariot, telling the tall champions as a great encouragement, that with the Britons it was usual for women to be their leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth not worth recital; how she was lashed, how her daughters were handled, things worthier silence, retirement, and a vail, than for a woman to repeat, as done to her own person, or to hear repeated before a host of men. The Greek historian[3] sets her in the field on a high heap of turves, in a loose-bodied gown, declaiming, a spear in her hand, a hare in her bosom, which after a long circumlocution, she was to let slip among them for luck's sake; then praying to Andate the British goddess, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their history with the strangeness of our manners, not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, as if in Britain women were men, and men women. I affect not set speeches in a history, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they are written, nor then, unless worth rehearsal: and to invent such, though eloquently, as some historians have done, is an abuse of posterity, raising in them that read other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious orations without decorum, though

[3] Dion.

in their authors composed ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of Cassibelan, Togadumnus, Venusius, and Caractacus, hath been full of magnanimity, soberness, and martial skill: but the truth is, that in this battle and whole business the Britons never more plainly manifested themselves to be right barbarians; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience, or estimation, either of themselves or of their enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seemed likest not to a war, but to the wild hurry of a distracted woman, with as mad a crew at her heels. Therefore Suetonius, contemning their unruly noises and fierce looks, heartens his men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood nearest, the rest would be a purchase rather than a toil. And so it fell out; for the legion, when they saw their time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what opposed them; all else only held out their necks to the slayer; for their own carts and waggons were so placed by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The Roman slew all; men, women, and the very drawing horses lay heaped along the field in a gory mixture of slaughter. About fourscore thousand Britons are said to have been slain on the place; of the enemy scarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. Boadicea poisoned herself, or, as others say, sickened and died.[4] She was of stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of voice, her hair of a bright colour flowing down to her hips; she wore a plaited garment of divers colours, with a great golden chain; buttoned over all a thick robe. Gildas calls her the crafty lioness, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings. Dion sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the Britons to give another battle, had not the death of Boadicea come between. Howbeit Suetonius, to preserve discipline, and to dispatch the reliques of war, lodged with all the army in the open field; which was supplied out of Germany with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot; thence dispersed to winter, and with incursions to waste those countries that stood out. But to the Britons famine was a worse affliction; having left off, during this uproar, to till the ground, and made reckoning to serve themselves on the pro-

[4] Dion.

visions of their enemy. Nevertheless those nations that were yet untamed, hearing of some discord risen between Suetonius and the new procurator Classicianus, were brought but slowly to terms of peace; and the rigour used by Suetonius on them that yielded, taught them the better course to stand on their defence.[4] For it is certain that Suetonius, though else a worthy man, overproud of his victory, gave too much way to his anger against the Britons. Classician therefore sending such word to Rome, that these severe proceedings would beget an endless war, Polycletus, no Roman but a courtier, was sent by Nero to examine how things went. He admonishing Suetonius to use more mildness, awed the army, and to the Britons gave matter of laughter. Who so much even till then were nursed up in their native liberty, as to wonder that so great a general with his whole army should be at the rebuke and ordering of a court-servitor. But Suetonius a while after, having lost a few galleys on the shore, was bid resign his command to Petronius Turpilianus, who not provoking the Britons, nor by them provoked, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloth. Trebellius Maximus followed his steps, usurping the name of gentle government to any remissness or neglect of discipline; which brought in first license, next disobedience into his camp; incensed against him partly for his covetousness, partly by the incitement of Roscius Cælius, legate of a legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that civil war began in the empire, he fell to open discord;[5] charging him with disorder and sedition, and him Cælius with peeling and defrauding the legions of their pay; insomuch that Trebellius, hated and deserted of the soldiers, was content a while to govern by base entreaty, and forced at length to flee the land. Which notwithstanding remained in good quiet, governed by Cælius and the other legate of a legion, both faithful to Vitellius then emperor; who sent hither Vectius Bolanus; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the Britons nothing was done, nor in their own discipline reformed.[6] Petilius Cerealis by appointment of Vespasian succeeding, had to do with the populous Brigantes

[4] Tacit. vit. Agric. [5] Tacit. hist. 1 and vit. Agric. Anno post Christ. 69.
[6] Tacit. hist. 2. and vit. Agric.

in many battles, and some of those not unbloody. For as we heard before, it[7] was Venusius who even to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquished, and some part of the country not so much as reached. It appears also by several passages in the histories of Tacitus,[8] that no small matter of British forces were commanded over sea the year before to serve in those bloody wars between Otho and Vitellius, Vitellius and Vespasian contending for the empire. To Cerealis succeeded Julius Frontinus in the government of Britain,[9] who by taming the Silures, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation. But Julius Agricola, whom Vespasian in his last year sent hither, trained up from his youth in the British wars, extended with victories the Roman limit beyond all his predecessors. His coming was in the midst of summer; and the Ordovices to welcome the new general had hewn in pieces a whole squadron of horse which lay upon their bounds, few escaping. Agricola, who perceived that the noise of this defeat had also in the province desirous of novelty stirred up new expectations, resolves to be beforehand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his legions with a competent number of auxiliaries, not being met by the Ordovices, who kept the hills, himself at the head of his men, hunts them up and down through difficult places, almost to the final exturpating of that whole nation. With the same current of success, what Paulinus had left unfinished he conquers in the isle of Mona: for the islanders altogether fearless of his approach, whom they knew to have no shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the auxiliars, whose country-use had taught them to swim over with horse and arms, were compelled to yield. This gained Agricola much opinion: who at his very entrance, a time which others bestowed of course in hearing compliments and gratulations, had made such early progress into laborious and hardest enterprises. But by far not so famous was Agricola in bringing war to a speedy end, as in cutting off the causes from whence war arises. For he knowing that the end of war was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own house; permitted not his attendants and followers to sway, or have to do at all

[7] Calvii. [8] Tacit. hist. 3. and vit. Agric. [9] Post Christ. 74.

in public affairs: lays on with equality the proportions of corn and tribute that were imposed; takes off exactions, and the fees of encroaching officers, heavier than the tribute itself. For the countries had been compelled before, to sit and wait the opening of public granaries, and both to sell and to buy their corn at what rate the publicans thought fit; the purveyors also commanding when they pleased to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excused, or by causing a dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These grievances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into some credit; which before, since the Romans coming, had as ill a name as war. The summer following, Titus then emperor,[1] he so continually with inroads disquieted the enemy over all the isle, and after terror so allured them with his gentle demeanour, that many cities which till that time would not bend, gave hostages, admitted garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The winter he spent all in worthy actions; teaching and promoting like a public father the institutes and customs of civil life. The inhabitants rude and scattered, and by that the proner to war, he so persuaded to build houses, temples, and seats of justice; and by praising the forward, quickening the slow, assisting all, turned the name of necessity into an emulation. He caused moreover the noblemen's sons to be bred up in liberal arts; and by preferring the wits of Britain before the studies of Gallia, brought them to affect the Latin eloquence, who before hated the language. Then were the Roman fashions imitated, and the gown; after a while the incitements also and materials of vice, and voluptuous life, proud buildings, baths, and the elegance of banqueting; which the foolisher sort called civility, but was indeed a secret art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the field, and with a prosperous expedition wasted as far northward as frith of Taus all that obeyed not, with such a terror, as he went, that the Roman army, though much hindered by tempestuous weather, had the leisure to build forts and castles where they pleased, none daring to oppose them. Besides, Agricola had this excellence in him, so providently to choose his places where to fortify, as not another general then alive. No sconce

[1] Post Christ 99

or fortress of his raising was ever known either to have been forced, or yielded up or quitted. Out of these impregnable by siege, or in that case duly relieved, with continual irruptions he so prevailed, that the enemy, whose manner was in winter to regain what in summer he had lost, was now alike in both seasons kept short and streightened. For these exploits, then esteemed so great and honourable, Titus, in whose reign they were achieved, was the fifteenth time saluted imperator;[2] and of him Agricola received triumphal honours. The fourth summer, Domitian then ruling the empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the year before he had travelled over with a running conquest. And had the valour of his soldiers been answerable, he had reached that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of Britain. For Glota and Bodotria, now Dunbritton, and the frith of Edinburgh, two opposite arms of the sea, divided only by a neck of land, and all the creeks and inlets on this side, were held by the Romans, and the enemy driven as it were into another island. In his fifth year[3] he passed over into the Orcades, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch isles; discovering and subduing nations till then unknown. He gained also with his forces that part of Britain which faces Ireland, as aiming also to conquer that island; where one of the Irish kings driven out by civil wars coming to him, he both gladly received, and retained him as against a fit time. The summer ensuing, on mistrust that the nations beyond Bodotria would generally rise, and forelay the passages by land, he caused his fleet, making a great show, to bear along the coast, and up the friths and harbours; joining most commonly at night on the same shore both land and sea-forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight whereof the Britons, not wont to see their sea so ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit the Caledonians[4] with great preparation, and by rumour, as of things unknown much greater, taking arms, and of their own accord beginning war by the assault of sundry castles, sent back some of their fear to the Romans themselves: and there were of the commanders, who cloaking their fear under show of sage advice, counselled the general to retreat back on this side Bodotria. He in the mean while having intelligence that

[2] Dion. l. 66. Post Christ. 82.
[3] Post Christ. 83. [4] Post Christ. 84.

the enemy would fall on in many bodies, divided also his army into three parts. Which advantage the Britons quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoined, assail by night with all their forces that part of the Roman army which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the camp, surprised between sleep and fear, had begun some execution. When Agricola, who had learnt what way the enemies took, and followed them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his horse, and foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to affright them with clamour, so plied them without respite, that by approach of day the Roman ensigns glittering all about, had encompassed the Britons; who now after a sharp fight in the very ports of the camp, betook them to their wonted refuge, the woods and fens, pursued a while by the Romans; that day else in all appearance had ended the war. The legions reincouraged by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembled, cry all to be led on as far as there was British ground. The Britons also not acknowledging the loss of that day to Roman valour, but to the policy of their captain, abated nothing of their stoutness; but arming their youth, conveying their wives and children to places of safety, in frequent assemblies and by solemn covenants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the common enemy. About the same time a cohort of Germans having slain their centurion with other Roman officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled on shipboard, launched forth in three light galleys without pilot;[5] and by tide or weather carried round about the coast, using piracy where they landed, while their ships held out, and as their skill served them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the Romans that Britain was an island. The following summer,[6] Agricola having before sent his navy to hover on the coast, and with sundry and uncertain landings to divert and disunite the Britons, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherein also were many Britons, whom he had long tried, both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the mountain Grampius, where the British, above thirty thousand, were now lodged, and still increasing; for neither would their old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practised in war, and every

[5] Dion. l. 66. [6] Post Christ. 85.

one adorned with some badge, or cognizance of his warlike deeds long ago. Of whom Galgacus, both by birth and merit the prime leader to their courage, though of itself hot and violent, is by his rough oratory, in detestation of servitude and the Roman yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight, testified by their shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the other side Agricola exhort his soldiers to victory and glory; as much the soldiers by his firm and well-grounded exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them on this sort: Of eight thousand auxiliary foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings three thousand horse, the legions as a reserve, stood in array before the camp; either to seize the victory won without their own hazard, or to keep up the battle if it should need. The British powers on the hill side, as might best serve for show and terror, stood in their battalions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of horsemen and chariots ranging up and down. Agricola doubting to be overwinged, stretches out his front, though somewhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advised to bring up the legions: yet he not altering, alights from his horse, and stands on foot before the ensigns. The fight began aloof, and the Britons had a certain skill with their broad swashing swords and short bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the darts of their enemy; and withal to send back showers of their own. Until Agricola discerning that those little targets and unwieldy glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians exercised and armed for close fight, to draw up, and come to handy strokes. The Batavians, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long tucks thrusting at the face, now with their piked targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for haste omitting further execution, began apace to advance up hill, seconded now by all the other cohorts. Meanwhile the horsemen flee, the charioteers mix themselves to fight among the foot, where many of their horse also fallen in disorderly, were now more a mischief to their own, than before a terror to their enemies. The battle was a confused heap, the ground unequal; men, horses, chariots, crowded

pellmell; sometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, overbearing, overturning. They on the hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewness of their enemies, came down amain; and had enclosed the Romans unawares behind, but that Agricola with a strong body of horse, which he reserved for such a purpose, repelled them back as fast; and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the Romans clearly masters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the Britons, in whole troops with weapons in their hands one while fleeing the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But of all them, when once they got the woods to their shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turned and slew, the rest so hampered, as had not Agricola, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest cohorts, with a part of his horse to alight and scour the woods, they had received a foil in the midst of victory; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the Britons fled again, and were totally scattered; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day ten thousand fell; of the Romans three hundred and forty, among whom Aulus Atticus the leader of a cohort, carried with heat of youth and the fierceness of his horse too far on. The Romans jocund of this victory, and the spoil they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandering about the field, both men and women, some lamenting, some calling their lost friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forsaken, some burning their own houses; and it was certain enough, there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on their wives and children, to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injury. Next day appearing, manifested more plainly the greatness of their loss received; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whither: such word the scouts bringing in from all parts, and the summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a war, the Roman general leads his army among the Horestians; by whom hostages being given, he commands his admiral with a sufficient navy to sail round the coast of Britain; himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new conquered nations, bestows his

army in their winter-quarters. The fleet also having fetched a prosperous and speedy compass about the isle, put in at the haven Trutulensis, now Richburgh near Sandwich, from whence it first set out:[8] and now likeliest, if not two years before, as was mentioned, the Romans might discover and subdue the isles of Orkney; which others with less reason, following[9] Eusebius and Orosius, attribute to the deeds of Claudius. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame: with Domitian, under whom great virtue was as punishable as open crime, won him hatred.[1] For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devised his ruin. Agricola[2] therefore commanded home for doing too much of what he was sent to do, left the province to his successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were Salustius Lucullus, or before him some other, for Suetonius only names him legate of Britain under Domitian; but further of him, or aught else done here until the time of Hadrian, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a preface in Tacitus to the book of his histories, that what Agricola won here, was soon after by Domitian either through want of valour lost, or through envy neglected. And Juvenal the poet speaks of Arviragus in these days, and not before, king of Britain; who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talked of at Rome, but to be held matter of a glorious triumph, if Domitian could take him captive, or overcome him. Then also Claudia Rufina the daughter of a Briton, and wife of Pudence a Roman senator, lived at Rome famous by the verse of Martial for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of Britain, is, that when Trajan was emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. But Hadrian next entering on the empire,[3] they soon unsubdued themselves. Julius Severus, saith Dion, then governed the island, a prime soldier of that age: he being called away to suppress the Jews then in tumult, left things at such a pass, as caused the emperor in person to take a journey hither;[4] where many things he reformed, and, as Augustus and Tiberius counselled, to gird the empire within moderate bounds, he raised a wall with great stakes driven in deep, and fastened

[8] Camden. Juven. sat. 2. [9] Eutrop. l. 7. [1] Dion l. 66.
[2] Post Christ. 86. [3] Spartianus in vit. Hadrian.
[4] Post Christ. 122. Spartianus ibid.

together, in manner of a strong mound, fourscore miles in length, to divide what was Roman from Barbarian; as his manner was to do in other frontiers of his empire, where great rivers divided not the limits. No ancient author names the place, but old inscriptions, and the ruin itself, yet testifies where it went along between Solway frith by Carlisle, and the mouth of Tine.[5] Hadrian having quieted the island, took it for honour to be titled on his coin, "The restorer of Britain." In his time also Priscus Licinius, as appears by an old inscription, was lieutenant here. Antonius Pius reigning,[6] the Brigantes ever least patient of foreign servitude, breaking in upon Genounia (which Camden guesses to be Guinethia or North Wales) part of the Roman province, were with the loss of much territory driven back by Lollius Urbicus, who drew another wall of turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as Camden proves, between the frith of Dunbritton and of Edinburgh; to hedge out incursions from the north. And Sextus Saturninus, as is collected from the digests,[7] had charge here of the Roman navy. With like success did Marcus Aurelius,[8] next emperor, by his legate Calphurnius Agricola, finish here a new war: Commodus after him obtaining the empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable,[9] Lucius a supposed king in some part of Britain, the first of any king in Europe, that we read of, received the Christian faith, and this nation the first by public authority professed it: a high and singular grace from above, if sincerity and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be feared the verifying of that true sentence, "The first shall be last." And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to King Lucius, than common to the nation; whose first professing by public authority was no real commendation of their true faith, which had appeared more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other nation, first professed without public authority or against it, might else have been but outward conformity. Lucius in our Monmouth story is made the second by descent from Marius; Marius the son of Arviragus is there said to have overthrown the Picts then first coming out of Scythia, slain Roderic their king; and in sign of victory to have set up a monument of

[5] Camden. [6] Pausan. arched. [7] Cap. vit. Ant. Post Christ. 144.
[8] Post Christ. 162. Digest. l. 36. [9] Beda.

stone in the country since called Westmaria; but these things have no foundation. Coilus the son of Marius, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to Lucius. He (if Beda err not, living near five hundred years after, yet our ancientest author of this report) sent to Eluthenius, then bishop of Rome,[1] an improbable letter, as some of the contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receive Christianity. From whom two religious doctors, named in our chronicles Faganus and Deruvianus, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole nation:[2] thence Lucius to have had the surname of Levermaur, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian faith here known, but even from the latter days of Tiberius, as Gildas confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by Simon Zelotes, as others by Joseph of Arimathea, Barnabas, Paul, Peter, and their prime disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believed, ecclesiastic historians can best determine; as the best of them do, with little credit given to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for Lucius, they write,[3] that after a long reign he was buried in Gloucester; but dying without issue, left the kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony[4] we find that the greatest war which in those days busied Commodus, was in this island. For the nations northward, notwithstanding the wall raised to keep them out, breaking in upon the Roman province, wasted wide, and both the army and the leader that came against them wholly routed and destroyed; which put the emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best commanders, Ulpius Marcellus.[5] He a man endowed with all nobleness of mind, frugal and temperate, mild and magnanimous, in war bold and watchful, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes; what with his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this war that looked so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an emperor.[6] After whose departure the Roman legions fell to sedition among

[1] Post Christ. 181. [2] Nennius. [3] Geoff. Mon.
[4] Dion. l. 72. [5] Post Christ. 133.
[6] Lamprid in comm Post Christ. 186.

themselves; fifteen hundred of them went to Rome in name of the rest, and were so terrible to Commodus himself, as that to please them he delivered up to their care Perennis the captain of his guard, for having in the British war removed their leaders, who were senators, and in their places put those of the equestrian order. Notwithstanding which compliance, they endeavoured here to set up another emperor against him; and Helvius Pertinax,[2] who succeeded governor, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and though afterwards he severely punished the tumulters, was fain at length to seek a dismission from his charge. After him Clodius Albinus[3] took the government; but he, for having to the soldiers made an oration against monarchy, by the appointment of Commodus was bid resign to Junius Severus.[4] But Albinus, in those troublesome times ensuing under the short reign of Pertinax and Didius Julianus,[5] found means to keep in his hands the government of Britain; although Septimius Severus,[6] who next held the empire, sent hither Heraclitus to displace him; but in vain, for Albinus with all the British powers, and those of Gallia, met Severus about Lyons in France,[7] and fought a bloody battle with him for the empire, though at last vanquished and slain. The government of Britain[8] Severus divided between two deputies; till then one legate was thought sufficient; the north he committed to Virius Lupus. Where the Meatæ[9] rising in arms, and the Caledonians, though they had promised the contrary to Lupus,[1] preparing to defend them, so hard beset, he was compelled to buy his peace, and a few prisoners with great sums of money. But hearing that Severus had now brought to an end his other wars, he writes him plainly the state of things here,[2] "the Britons of the north made war upon him, broke into the province, and harassed all the countries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more aid, or himself in person." Severus, though now much weakened with age and the gout, yet desirous to leave some memorial of his warlike achievements here, as he had done in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two sons from the pleasures of Rome, and his soldiers from idle-

[2] Capitolin. in Pert. [3] Capitolin. in Alb. [4] Post Christ. 193.
[5] Dion. Did. Jul. [6] Spartian. in Sever. [7] Herod. l. 3.
[8] Ibid. [9] Digest, l. 28. tit. 6. [1] Dion. [2] Herod. l. 3.

ness, with a mighty power, far sooner than could be expected, arrives in Britain. The northern people[3] much daunted with the report of so great forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send ambassadors to treat of peace, and to excuse their former doings. The emperor now loth to return home without some memorable thing done, whereby he might assume to his other titles the addition of Britannicus, delays his answer, and quickens his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismissed without effect. His principal care was to have many bridges laid over bogs and rotten moors, that his soldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of tillage, the northern parts were then, as Ireland is at this day; and the inhabitants in like manner wanted to retire, and defend themselves in such watery places half naked. He also being past Adrian's wall,[4] cut down woods, made ways through hills, fastened and filled up unsound and plashy fens. Notwithstanding all this industry used, the enemy kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the Romans, when they were most in straits and difficulties, sometimes training them on with a few cattle turned out, and drawn within ambush cruelly handling them, that many a time enclosed in the midst of sloughs and quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a prey to the Caledonians.[5] Thus lost Severus, and by sickness in those noisome places, no less than fifty thousand men: and yet desisted not, though for weakness carried in a litter, till he had marched through with his army to the utmost northern verge of the isle: and the Britons offering peace, were compelled to lose much of their country not before subject to the Romans.[6] Severus on the frontiers of what he had firmly conquered, builds a wall cross the island from sea to sea; which one author judges the most magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence received the style of Britannicus;[7] in length a hundred and thirty-two miles. Orosius adds it fortified with a deep trench, and between certain spaces many towers or battlements. The place whereof some will have to be in Scotland, the same which Lollius

[3] Post Christ. 208.
[4] Post Christ. 209.
[5] Dion.
[6] Post Christ. 210. Spartianus in Sever. Eutropii Pean. Oros. l. 7. Cassid. Chro

Urbicus had walled before. Others[8] affirm it only Hadrian's work re-edified; both plead authorities and the ancient track yet visible: but this I leave among the studious of these antiquities to be discussed more at large. While peace held, the empress Julia meeting on a time certain British ladies, and discoursing with the wife of Argentocoxus a Caledonian, cast out a scoff against the looseness of our island women, whose manner then was to use promiscuously the company of divers men. Whom straight the British woman boldly thus answered: "Much better do we Britons fulfil the work of nature than you Romans, we with the best men accustom openly; you with the basest commit private adulteries." Whether she thought this answer might serve to justify the practice of her country, as when vices are compared, the greater seems to justify the less; or whether the law and custom wherein she was bred, had whipped out of her conscience the better dictate of nature, and not convinced her of the shame, certain it is, that where as other nations used a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many wives, the Britons[9] altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in their license, had one or many wives in common among ten or twelve husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was Severus returned into the province, than the Britons take arms again. Against whom Severus, worn out with labours and infirmity, sends Antoninus his eldest son, expressly commanding him to spare neither sex nor age. But Antoninus, who had his wicked thoughts taken up with the contriving of his father's death, a safer enemy than a son, did the Britons not much detriment. Whereat Severus, more overcome with grief than any other malady, ended his life at York.[1] After whose decease Antoninus Caracalla his impious son, concluding peace with the Britons, took hostages and departed to Rome. The conductor of all this northern war Scottish writers name Donaldus, he of Monmouth Fulgenius, in the rest of his relation nothing worth. From hence the Roman empire declining apace, good historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing. Under Gordian the emperor we find, by the inscription[2] of an altar-stone, that Nonius Philippus governed here. Under Galienus we read there was

[8] Buchanan. [9] Cæsar [1] Post Christ 211. Spartianus in Sever.
[2] Post Chris.. 242. Cambd Cumber.

a strong and general revolt from the Roman legate. Of the thirty tyrants which not long after took upon them the style of emperor,[3] by many coins found among us, Lollianus Victorinus, Posthumus, the Tetrici, and Marius are conjectured to have risen or borne great sway in this island.[4] Whence Porphyrius, a philospher then living, said that Britain was a soil fruitful of tyrants; and is noted to be the first author that makes mention of the Scottish nation. While Probus was emperor,[5] Bonosus the son of a rhetorician, bred up a Spaniard, though by descent a Briton, and a matchless drinker; nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups; having attained in warfare too high honours, and lastly in his charge over the German shipping, willingly as was thought, miscarried, trusting on his power with the western armies, and joined with Proculus, bore himself a while for emperor; but after a long and bloody fight at Cullen, vanquished by Probus he hanged himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him, for his much drinking: "Here hangs a tankard, not a man." After this,[6] Probus with much wisdom prevented a new rising here in Britain by the severe loyalty of Victorinus a Moor, at whose entreaty he had place here that governor which rebelled. For the emperor upbraiding him with disloyalty of whom he had commended, Victorinus undertaking to set all right again, hastes thither, and finding indeed the governor to intend sedition, by some contrivance not mentioned in the story, slew him, whose name[7] some imagine to be Cornelius Lelianus. They write also that Probus gave leave to the Spaniards, Gauls, and Britons to plant vines, and to make wine; and having subdued the Vandals and Burgundians in a great battle,[8] sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the Romans, when any insurrection happened in the isle. After whom Carus emperor going against the Persians, left Carinus[9] one of his sons to govern among other western provinces this island with imperial authority, but him Diocletian, saluted emperor by the eastern arms, overcame and slew. About which time Carausius,[1] a man of low parentage, born in Menapia, about the parts of Cleves and Juliers,

[3] Post Christ. 259. Eumen. Paneg. Const. [4] Post Christ. 267. Camden, Gildas, Hieronym. [5] Post Christ. 282. Vopisc. in Bonos. [6] Zozim. l. 1. [7] Camd. [8] Zozimus. [9] Post Christ. 283. Vopisc. in Carin. [1] Post Christ. 284. Aurel. Victor. de Cæsar.

who through all military degrees was made at length admiral of the Belgic and Armoric seas, then much infested by the Franks and Saxons, what he took from the pirates, neither restoring to the owners nor accounting to the public, but enriching himself, and yet not scouring the seas, but conniving rather at those sea robbers, was grown at length too great a delinquent to be less than an emperor;[2] for fear and guiltiness in those days made emperors oftener than merit; and understanding that Maximianus Herculius,[3] Diocletian's adopted son, was come against him into Gallia, passed over with the navy, which he had made his own, into Britain, and possessed the island. Where he built a new[4] fleet after the Roman fashion, got into his power the legion that was left here in garrison, other outlandish cohorts detained, listed the very merchants and factors of Gallia, and with the allurement of spoil invited great numbers of other barbarous nations to his part, and trained them to sea service, wherein the Romans at that time were grown so out of skill, that Carausius with his navy did at sea what he listed, robbing on every coast; whereby Maximilian, able to come no nearer than the shore of Bologne, was forced to conclude a peace with Carausius, and yield him Britain;[5] as one fittest to guard the province there against inroads from the North. But not long after[6] having assumed Constantius Chlorus to the dignity of Cæsar, sent him against Carausius; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the land and without.[7] Galfred of Monmouth writes, that he made the Picts his confederates; to whom, lately come out of Scythia, he gave Albany to dwell in: and it is observed, that before his time the Picts are not known to have been any where mentioned, and then first by Eumenius a rhetorician.[8] He repaired and fortified the wall of Severus with seven castles, and a round house of smooth stone on the bank of Carron, which river, saith Ninnius, was of his name so called; he built also a triumphal arch in remembrance of some victory there obtained.[9] In France he held Gessoriacum, or Bologne: and all the Franks, which had by his permission seated themselves in Belgia, were at his devotion. But Constantius hasting into Gallia, besieges Bologne, and with stones and timber obstructing the

[2] Post Christ. 285. Eutrop. Oros.
[3] Eumen. Paneg. 2.
[4] Post Christ. 286.
[5] Victor. Eutrop.
[6] Post Christ. 291.
[7] Buchanan.
[8] Paneg. 2.
[9] Paneg. Sigonius.

port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by Carausius. Who ere Constantius, with the great fleet which he had prepared, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously[1] by Alectus one of his friends, who had longed to step into his place; when he seven years, and worthily as some say, as others tyrannically, had ruled the island. So much the more did Constantius prosecute that opportunity, before Alectus could well strengthen his affairs:[2] and though in ill weather, putting to sea with all urgency from several havens to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt were to expect him, in a mist passing the British fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the Isle of Wight, no sooner got a shore, but fires his own ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in victory. Alectus also, though now much dismayed, transfers his fortune to a battle on the shore; but encountered by Asclepiodotus, captain of the prætorian bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessaries of his treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the Romans, but great execution on the Franks. His body was found almost naked in the field, for his purple robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to London, and purposing the pillage of that city to escape by sea, are met by another part of the Roman army, whom the mist at sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chased through all the streets. The Britons, their wives also and children, with great joy got out to meet Constantius, as one whom they acknowledge their deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by Eumenius,[3] who then lived, and of Constantius's household, to have been done in the course of one continued action; so also thinks Sigonius, a learned writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of Alectus. In these days there were great stores of workmen, and excellent builders in this island, whom after the alteration of things here, the Æduans in Burgundy entertained to build their temples and public edifices. Diocletian having hitherto successfully used his valour against the enemies of his empire, uses now his rage in a bloody persecution against his obedient and harmless christian subjects: from

[1] Post Christ. 292. [2] Camd. ex Nin. Eumen. Pan. 3 Oros. l. 7, c. 25. [3] Eumen.

the feeling whereof neither was this island, though most remote, far enough removed.[4] Among them here who suffreed gloriously, Aron, and Julius of Caerleon upon Usk, but chiefly Alban of Verulam, were most renowned; the story of whose martydom soiled, and worse martyred with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of miracles than apprehensive of truth, deserves not longer digression. Constantius, after Diocletian, dividing the empire with Galerius, had Britain among his other provinces, where either preparing or returning with a victory from an expedition against the Caledonians, he died at York.[5] His son Constantine, who happily came post from Rome to Bologne, just about the time, saith Eumenius, that his father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-bed named, and after his funeral, by the whole army saluted emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own historians, though not those the ancientest, that Constantine was born in this island, his mother Helena the daughter of Coilus a British prince, not sure the father of King Lucius, whose sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by a hundred years to be the mother of Constantine. But to salve this incoherence, another Coilus is feigned to be then the earl of Colchester. To this therefore the Roman authors give no testimony, except a passage or two in the Panegyrics, about the sense whereof much is argued: others[6] nearest to those times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of a mean woman, Helena, the concubine of Constantius, at Naisus in Dardania. Howbeit,[7] ere his departure hence, he seems to have had some bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent affairs composed, he passes into Gallia; and after four years returns either to settle or to alter the state of things here, until a new war against Maxentius called him back, leaving Pacatianus his vicegerent.[8] He deceasing, Constantine his eldest son enjoyed for his part of the empire, with all the provinces that lay on this side the Alps, this island also. But[9]

[4] Gildas. [5] Author. ign post Marcellin. Valesii. Post Chris. 306. Eutrop. Eumen. idem. Auth. ignot [6] Idem vit. Auth .gnot Euseb. Const. Oros l. 7. 25 cap Cass. Chron. [7] Post Christ. 307 Sigon.
[8] Post Christ. 311 Camd Ammian. l. 20. and in cum Valesius.
[9] Post Christ. 340. Libanius in Basilico.

falling to civil war with Constans his brother, was by him slain; who with his third brother Constantius coming into Britain, seized it as victor. Against him rose Magnentius,[1] one of his chief commanders, by some affirmed the son of a Briton, he having gained on his side great forces, contested with Constantius in many battles for the sole empire; but vanquished, in the end slew himself. [2]Somewhat before this time Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, afterwards emperor, had chief command of those armies which the Romans kept here. And[2] the Arian doctrine,[3] which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this island no small disturbance: a land, saith Gildas, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last Constantius[4] appointed a synod of more than four hundred bishops to assemble at Ariminum on the emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the British, poverty constraining them, accepted, though the other bishops among them offered to have borne their charges; esteeming it more honourable to live on the public, than to be obnoxious to any private purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the presbyters of our age; who like well to set in assembly on the public stipend, but like not the poverty that caused these to do so. After this Martinus was deputy of the province; who being offended with the cruelty which Paulus, an inquisitor sent from Constantius, exercised in his inquiry after those military officers who had conspired with Magnentius, was himself laid hold on as an accessory: at which enraged, he runs at Paulus with his drawn sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guessed, Alipius was made deputy. In the mean time Julian,[5] whom Constantius had made Cæsar, having recovered much territory about the Rhine, where the German inroads before had long insulted, to relieve those countries almost ruined, causes eight hundred pinnaces to be built; and with them, by frequent voyages, plenty of corn to be fetched in from Britain; which even then was the usual bounty of this soil to those parts, as oft as French and Saxon pirates hindered not the transportation.[6]

[1] Post Christ. 343. Camd. ex Firmico.
[2] Post Christ. 350. Camd.
[3] Post Christ. 353. Ammian.
[4] Post Christ. 354.
[5] Liban. Or. 10. Zozim. l. 3. Marcel. l. 18.
[6] Amm. l. 23.

While Constantius[7] yet reigned, the Scots and Picts breaking in upon the Nothern confines, Julian, being at Paris, sends over Lupicinus, a well-tried soldier, but a proud and covetous man, who with a power of light-armed Herulians, Batavians, and Mæsians, in the midst of winter sailing from Boloigne, arrives at Rutupiæ, seated on the opposite shore, and comes to London, to consult there about the war; but soon after was recalled by Julian, then chosen emperor. Under whom we read not of aught happening here, only that Palladius, one of his great officers, was hither banished. This year,[8] Valentinian being emperor, the Attecots, Picts, and Scots, roving up and down, and last the Saxons, with perpetual landings and invasions, harried the South coast of Britain; slew Nectaridius who governed the sea borders, and Bulchobandes with his forces by an ambush. With which news Valentinian not a little perplexed, sends first Severus high steward of his house, and soon recals him; then Jovinus, who intimating the necessity of greater supplies, he sends at length Theodosius, a man of tried valour and experience, father to the first emperor of that name. He[9] with selected numbers out of the legions, and cohorts, crosses the sea from Boloigne to Rutupiæ; from whence with the Batavians, Herulians and other legions that arrived soon after, he marches to London; and dividing his forces into several bodies, sets upon the dispersed and plundering enemy, laden with spoil; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forced to leave there with their lives, he restores all to the right owners, save a small portion to his wearied soldiers, and enters London victoriously; which, before in many straits and difficulties, was now revived as with a great deliverance. The numerous enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different nations, and the war scattered: which Theodosius, getting daily some intelligence from fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden parties and surprisals, rather than set battles; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to such as would lay down arms, and accept of peace, which brought in many Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that Civilis, a man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as deputy of the island, and Dulcitius a famous captain. Thus

[7] Post Christ. 360. Am. l. 20. [8] Post Christ. 364. Amm. l. 26. 27.
[9] Post Christ. 367.

was Theodosius busied, besetting with ambushes the roving enemy, repressing his roads, restoring cities and castles to their former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when Valentinus[1] a Pannonian, for some great offence banished into Britain, conspiring with certain exiles and soldiers against Theodosius, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the isle into his power, is discovered, and with his chief accomplices delivered over to condign punishment: against the rest, Theodosius with a wise lenity suffered not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettled. This done, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the confines many strong holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches: and so reduced all things out of danger, that the province, which but lately was under command of the enemy, became now wholly Roman, new named Valentia of Valentinian, and the city of London, Augusta. Thus Theodosius nobly acquitting himself in all affairs, with general applause of the whole province, accompanied to the sea side, returns to Valentinian. Who about five years after sent hither Fraomarius, a king of the Almans,[2] with authority of a tribune over his own country forces; which then, both for number and good service, were in high esteem Against Gratian, who had succeeded in the Western empire, Maximus a Spaniard, and one who had served in the British wars with the younger[3] Theodosius, (for he also, either with his father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this island,) and now a general of the Roman armies here, either discontented that Theodosius was preferred before him to the empire, or constrained by the soldiers who hated Gratian, assumes the imperial purple;[4] and having attained victory against the Scots and Picts, with the flower and strength of Britain, passeth into France; there slays Gratian, and without much difficulty, the space of five years,[5] obtains his part of the empire, overthrown at length, and slain by Theodosius. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of Armorica, which Maximus had given them to

[1] Post Christ. 368, Amm. l. 28. Zozim. l. 4. [2] Post Christ. 373. Amm. l. 29. [3] Zozim. l. 4. Sigon. [4] Pros. Aquitanc. Chron. Post Christ. 383 [5] Gildas, Post Christ. 388. Beda. Ninn.

possess, the South of Britain by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of the Roman soldiers on the confines drawn off, became a prey to savage invasions;[6] of Scots from the Irish seas, of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Against them, first[7] Chrysanthus the son of Marcian a bishop, made deputy of Britain by Theodosius, demeaned himself worthily: then Stilicho a man of great power, whom Theodosius dying left protector of his son Honorius, either came in person, or sending over sufficient aid, repressed them, and as it seems new fortified the wall against them. But that legion being called away, when the Roman armies from all parts hasted to relieve Honorius,[8] then besieged in Asta of Piemont, by Alaric the Goth, Britain was left exposed as before, to those barbarous robbers. Lest any wonder how the Scots came to infest Britain from the Irish sea, it must be understood, that the Scots not many years before had been driven all out of Britain by Maximus,[9] and their king Eugenius slain in fight, as their own annals report: whereby, it seems, wandering up and down without certain seat, they lived by scumming those seas and shores as pirates. But more authentic writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came first into Ireland, and dwelt there, and named it Scotia long before the North of Britain took that name. Orosius,[1] who lived at this time, writes that Ireland was then inhabited by Scots. About this time,[2] though troublesome, Pelagius a Briton found the leisure to bring new and dangerous opinions into the church, and is largely writ against by St. Austin. But the Roman powers which were called into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric was over, made return into several provinces; and perhaps Victorinus of Tolosa, whom Rutilius the poet much commends, might be then prefect of this island; if it were not he whom Stilicho sent hither. Buchanan writes, that endeavouring to reduce the Picts into a province, he gave the occasion of their calling back Fergusius and the Scots, whom Maximus with their help had quite driven out of the island: and indeed the verses of that poet speak him to be active in those parts. But the time which is

[6] Post Christ. 389. [7] Socrat. l. 7. Claudian de laud. Stil. l. 2, and de Bello Get. [8] Post Christ. 402. [9] Ethelwerd Sax. an Bede, epit. in the year 565: and Bede. l. 2. c. 4. [1] Oros. l. 1. c. 2. [2] Post Christ. 405.

assigned him later by Buchanan after Gratinus Municeps, by Camden after Constantine the tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of history. [2]For the Vandals having broke in and wasted all Belgia, even to those places from whence easiest passage is into Britain, the Roman forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up Marcus, who it may seem was then deputy. But him not found agreeable to their heady courses, they as hastily kill,[3] for the giddy favour of a mutinying rout is as dangerous as their fury. The like they do by Gratian[4] a British Roman, in four months advanced, adored, and destroyed. There was among them a common soldier whose name was Constantine, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of the luckiness of his name, as without other visible merit to create him emperor. It fortuned that the man had not his name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wakened spirit, to the extent of his fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the province, and what of British was able to bear arms, he passes into France, aspiring at least to an equal share with Honorius in the empire. Where, by the valour of Edobecus a Frank, and Gerontius a Briton, and partly by persuasion, gaining all in his way, he comes to Arles.[5] With like felicity by his son Constans, whom of a monk he had made a Cæsar, and by the conduct of Gerontius he reduces all Spain to his obedience. But Constans after displacing Gerontius, the affairs of Constantine soon went to wreck; for he by this means alienated, set up Maximus one of his friends against him in Spain;[6] and passing into France, took Vienna by assault, and having slain Constans in that city, calls on the Vandals against Constantine; who by him incited, as by him before they had been repressed, breaking forward, overrun most part of France. But when Constantius Comes, the emperor's general, with a strong power came out of Italy, Gerontius,[7] deserted by his own forces, retires into Spain; where also growing into contempt with the soldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his house in

[2] Post Christ. 407. Zozim, l. 6. Sozom. l. 9. [4] Oros. l. 7.
[5] Post Christ. 408 [6] Post Christ. 409, [7] Sozom. l. 9.

the night was beset,[8] having first with a few of his servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above three hundred, though when his darts and other weapons were spent he might have escaped at the private door, as all his servants did, not enduring to leave his wife Nonnichia, whom he loved, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend Alanus, as was agreed, next his wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importuned, refusing to outlive her husband, he dispatches: for which her resolution, Sozomenus an ecclesiastic writer gives her high praise, both as a wife and as a Christian. Last of all, against himself he turns his sword; but missing the mortal place, with his poniard finishes the work. Thus far is pursued the story of a famous Briton, related negligently by our other historians. As for Constantine, his ending was not answerable to his setting out, for he with his other son Julian besieged by Constantius in Arles, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns priest; but that not availing him, carried into Italy, and there put to death; having four years acted the emperor. While these things were doing,[9] the Britons at home, destitute of Roman aid, and the chief strength of their own youth, that went first with Maximus, then with Constantine, not returning home, vexed and harassed by their wonted enemies, had sent messages to Honorius; but he at that time not being able to defend Rome itself, which the same year was taken by Alaric, advises them by his letter to consult how best they might for their own safety, and acquits them of the Roman jurisdiction.[1] They therefore thus relinquished, and by all right the government relapsing into their own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after their own laws, defending their bounds as well as they were able, and the Armoricans, who not long after were called the Britons of France, followed their example. Thus expired this great empire of the Romans; first in Britain, soon after in Italy itself, having borne chief sway in this island, though never thoroughly subdued, or all at once in subjection, if we reckon from the coming in of Julius to the taking of Rome by Alaric, in which year Honorius wrote those letters of discharge into Britain, the space of 462 years.[2] And with the empire fell

[8] Olympiodor. apud Photium.
[9] Gildas. Beda. Zosim. l. 6.
[1] Procopius vandalic.
[2] Calvis. Sigon.

also what before in this Western world was chiefly Roman; learning, valour, eloquence, history, civility, and even language itself, all these together, as it were, with equal peace, diminishing and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of authors; near enough to the things they write, as in their own country, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous, and to say how judicious, I suspend awhile: this we must expect, in civil matters to find them dubious relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term the Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of religion, blind, astonished, and struck with superstition as with a planet; in one word, Monks Yet these guides, where can be had no better, must be followed; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstances each man, as his judgment gives him, may reserve his faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.

THE THIRD BOOK.

THIS third book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary as the intermission or change of government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late civil broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the Britons then were in when the imperial jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of their own councils; which times by comparing seriously with these latter, and that confused anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of state, producing like events among us, to raise a knowledge of ourselves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the Britons generally are in matters of so high enterprise; how by nature, industry, or custom, fitted to attempt or undergo matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a nation, to know itself; rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly and to come off miserably in great undertakings.

[a][Of these who swayed most in the late troubles, a few words as to this point may suffice. They had arms, leaders, and successes to their wish; but to make use of so great an advantage was not their skill.

To other causes therefore, and not to the want of force, or warlike manhood in the Britons, both those, and these lately, we must impute the ill husbanding of those fair opportunities, which might seem to have put liberty so long desired, like a bridle into their hands. Of which other causes equally belonging to ruler, priest, and people, above hath been related: which, as they brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin, by liberty, which rightly used, might have made them happy; so brought they these of late, after many labours, much bloodshed, and vast expense, to ridiculous frustration: in whom the like defects, the like miscarriages notoriously appeared, with vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

For a parliament being called, to address many things, as it was thought, the people with great courage, and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose their behoof in parliament, such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, (to be sure the greater part,) whom wealth or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition (rather than merit) had commended to the same place.

But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted their New magistracy were cooled, and spent in them, strait every one betook himself (setting the commonwealth behind, his private ends before) to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied: spight and favour determined all: hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field: every where wrong and oppression: foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained in secret, or in open. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to set in supreme councils and committees, (as their breeding was,) fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men could soothe and humour them best; so he who would

[a] The following paragraphs, within brackets, have been omitted in all the former editions of our author's History of Britain, except that published in the collection of his works, 1738, 2 vols. folio, and the subsequent edition in quarto.

give most, or, under covert of hypocritical zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity; or escaped the punishment of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws, and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else but new impositions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed and shared among themselves: they in the mean while, who were ever faithfullest to this cause, and freely aided them in person, or with their substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved after of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable attendance from one committee to another with petitions in their hands, yet either missed the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted, (mere shame and reason ofttimes extorting from them at least a shew of justice,) yet by their sequestrators and subcommittees abroad, men for the most part of insatiable hands, and noted disloyalty, those orders were commonly disobeyed: which for certain durst not have been, without secret compliance, if not compact with some superiours able to bear them out. Thus were their friends confiscate with their enemies, while they forfeited their debtors to the state, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening seizure of innumerable thieves in office: yet withal no less burdened in all extraordinary assessments and oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected: nor were we happier creditors to what we called the state, than to them who were sequestered as the state's enemies.

For that faith which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any thing holy, "the Public Faith," after infinite sums received, and all the wealth of the church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private Gulf, was not ere long ashamed to confess bankrupt. And now besides the sweetness of bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness and the dreaded name of Just Account, which the people had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those troubles and combustions in the land, which openly they sat to remedy; and would continually find such work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that Terrible Stand of laying down their authority for lack of

new business, or not drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole nation.

And if the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great shew of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastorlike profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms: by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths. And yet the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience, than evangelical persuasion: distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of as executed unchristianly, against themselves; these intents are clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner, to punish church-delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.

And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers, trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous, (and as they stucked not to term them,) godly men; but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of reformation.

The people therefore looking one while on the statists, whom they beheld without constancy or firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers ways their disaffection; some despising whom before they honoured, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then looking on the churchmen, whom they saw under subtle hypocrisy to have preached their own follies, most of them not the gospel, time-ervers, covetous, illiterate persecutors, not lovers of the truth, like in most things whereof they accused their predecessors: looking on all this, the people which had been kept warm a while with counterfeit zeal of their pulpits, after a false heat, became more cold and obdurate than before, some turning to lewdness, some to flat atheism, put beside their old religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new.

Thus they who of late were extolled as our greatest deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion, by so discharging their trust as we see, did not only weaken and unfit themselves to be dispensers of what liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the people, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or to digest any liberty at all For stories teach us, that liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerate age, brought Rome itself to a farther slavery: for liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischief unwieldy in their own hands: neither is it completely given, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance and unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely; what

good laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom which they merit, and the bad the curb which they need. But to do this, and to know these exquisite proportions, the heroic wisdom which is required, surmounted far the principles of these narrow politicians . what wonder then if they sunk as these unfortunate Britons before them, entangled and oppressed with things too hard and generous above their strain and temper? For Britain, to speak a truth not often spoken, as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war, so it is naturally not over-fertile of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace, trusting only in their mother-wit; who consider not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the public good, more than of money or vain honour, are to this soil in a manner outlandish; grow not here, but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding, too impolitic else and rude, if not headstrong and intractable to the industry and virtue either of executing or understanding true civil government. Valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious and unwise: in good or bad success, alike unteachable. For the sun, which we want, ripens wits as well as fruits; and as wine and oil are imported to us from abroad, so must ripe understanding, and many civil virtues, be imported into our minds from foreign writings, and examples of best ages: we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great enterprise. Hence did their victories prove as fruitless as their losses dangerous; and left them still conquering under the same grievances, that men suffer conquered; which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise, unless men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the knowledge of ancient and illustrious deeds, invincible against many and vain titles, impartial to friendships and relations, had conducted their affairs: but then from the chapman to the retailer, many whose ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted with all their sordid rudiments to bear no mean sway among them, both in church and state.

From the confluence of all their errors, mischiefs, and misdemeanors, what in the eyes of men could be expected, but what befel those ancient inhabitants, whom they so much resembled, confusion in the end?

But on these things, and this parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the story, which gave us matter of this digression.]

The Britons thus, as we heard, being left without protection from the empire, and the land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in wars abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves, through long subjection, servile in mind,[1] slothful of body, and with the use of arms unacquainted, sustained but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of change,[2] and to be thought the leading nation to freedom from the empire, they seemed awhile to bestir them with a shew of diligence in their new affairs, some secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the wisdom, the virtue, the labour, to use and maintain true liberty, they soon remitted their heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty, than before under a foreign yoke. Insomuch that the residue of those Romans, which had planted themselves here, despairing of their ill deportment at home, and weak resistance in the field by those few who had the courage or the strength to bear arms, nine years after the sacking of Rome removed out of Britain into France,[3] hiding for haste great part of their treasure, which was never afterwards found.[4] And now again the Britons, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing enemy, solicit Honorius to their aid,[5] with mournful letters, embassages, and vows of perpetual subjection to Rome, if the northern foe were but repulsed. He[6] at their request spares them one legion, which with great slaughter of the Scots and Picts drove them beyond the borders, rescued the Britons, and advised them to build a wall across the island, between sea and sea, from the place where Edinburgh now stands to the frith of Dunbritton, by the city Aclunth.[7] But the material being only turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, availed them little. For[8] no sooner was the legion departed, but the greedy spoilers

[1] Gild. Bede. Malms. [2] Zozim l. 6. [3] Post Christ. 418.
[4] Ethelwerd annal. Sax. [5] Gildas Post Christ. 422.
[6] Diaconus. L. 14. [7] Bede l. 1. c. 2. [8] Gildas

returning land in great numbers from their boats and pinnaces, wasting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are messengers again posted to Rome in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole province to be destroyed, and the Roman name, so honourable yet among them, to become the subject of Barbarian scorn and insolence. The emperor,[9] at their sad complaint, with what speed was possible, sends to their succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only spoil, surprise them with a terrible slaughter. They who escaped fled back to those seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with booties. But the Romans, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of their affairs to make such laborious voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own warfare; and to defend like men their country, their wives, their children, and what was to be dearer than life, their liberty, against an enemy not stronger than themselves, if their own sloth and cowardice had not made them so: if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive bonds. They[1] gave them also their help to build a new wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone, (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions,) traversing the isle in a direct line from east to west, between certain cities placed there as frontiers to bear off the enemy, where Severus had walled once before. They raised it twelve foot high, eight broad. Along the south shore, because, from thence also like hostility was feared, they place towers by the sea-side at certain distances, for safety of the coast. Withal they instruct them in the art of war, leaving patterns of their arms and weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many lessons of valour to a faint hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly expeditions, the last of any hither by the Romans, were performed, as may be gathered out of Beda and Diaconus, the two last years of Honorius. Their leader,[2] as some modernly write, was Gallio of Ravenna; Buchanan, who departs not much from the fables of his predecessor Boethius, names him Maximianus, and

[9] Post Christ. 423. [1] Bede, ibid. Gildas. [2] Blond. Sabelic.

brings against him to this battle Fergus first king of the Scots, after their second supposed coming into Scotland, Durstus, king of Picts both there slain, and Dioneth, an imaginary king of Britain, or duke of Cornwall, who improbably sided with them against his own country, hardly escaping.[3] With no less exactness of particular circumstances he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary inroads of the Scots and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yesterday happened, their order of battle, manner of fight, number of slain, articles of peace, things whereof Gildas and Beda are utterly silent, authors to whom the Scotch writers have none to cite comparable in antiquity; no more therefore to be believed for bare assertions, however quaintly drest, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he varies most from authentic story. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily called historians, or the fond zeal of praising their nations above truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their history, or magnify their country.

The Scots and Picts in manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the Romans intended not to return, from their gorroghs or leathern frigates[4] pour out themselves in swarms upon the land more confident than ever, and from the north end of the isle to the very wall's side, then first took possession as inhabitants; while the Britons with idle weapons in their hands stand trembling on the battlements, till the half naked Barbarians with their long and formidable iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the wall, but towns and cities, leave them to the bloody pursuer, who follows, killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a famine, and from thence discord and civil commotion among the Britons, each man living by what he robbed or took violently from his neighbour. When all stores were consumed and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the woods, and lived by hunting, which was their only sustainment. [5]To the heaps of these evils from without were added new divisions within the church.[6] For Agricola the son of Severianus a Pelagian bishop had spread his

[3] Fordun. l. 3. [4] Gildas, Bede [5] Bede, [6] Constantius

doctrine wide among the Britons, not uninfected before. The sounder part, neither willing to embrace his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able to refute him, crave assistance from the churches of France: who send them Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes. They by continual preaching in churches,[8] in streets, in fields, and not without miracles, as is written, confirmed some, regained others, and at Verulam in a public deputation put to silence their chief adversaries. This reformation in the church was believed to be the cause of their success a while after in the field. For the Saxons and Picts with joint force,[9] which was no new thing before the Saxons at least had any dwelling in this island, during the abode of Germanus here, had made a strong impression from the north. [1]The Britons marching out against them, and mistrusting their own power, send to Germanus and his colleague, reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two men, than in their own thousands armed. They came, and their presence in the camp was not less than if a whole army had come to second them. It was then in the time of Lent, and the people, instructed by the daily sermons of these two pastors, came flocking to receive baptism. There was a place in the camp set apart as a church, and tricked up with boughs upon Easter-day. The enemy understanding this, and that the Britons were taken up with religions more than with feats of arms, advances after the paschal feast, as to a certain victory. German, who also had intelligence of their approach, undertakes to be captain that day; and riding out with selected troops to discover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a valley compassed about with hills, by which the enemy was to pass. And placing there his ambush, warns them, that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The enemy passes on securely, and German thrice aloud cries Hallelujah; which answered by the soldiers with a sudden burst of clamour, is from the hills and valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a sudden, supposing it a noise of a huge host, throw themselves into flight, casting down their arms, and great numbers of them are drowned in the river which they had newly passed. This victory, thus won without hands, left to the Britons plenty

[8] Post Christ. 426. Prosp. Aquit. Matth. West. ad ann. 446.
[9] Post Christ. 430. [1] Constant. vit. German.

of spoil, and the person and the preaching of German greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if Constantius, the writer of his life in the next age, had resolved us how the British army came to want baptizing; or of any paganism at that time, or long before, in the land we read not, or that Pelagianism was rebaptized. The place of this victory, as is reported, was in Flintshire,[3] by a town called Guid cruc, and the river Allen, where a field retains the name of Maes German to this day. But so soon as German was returned home,[3] the Scots and Picts, (though now so many of them Christians, that Palladius a deacon was ordained and sent by Celestine the pope to be a bishop over them,) were not so well reclaimed, or not so many of them, as to cease from doing mischief to their neighbours,[4] where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the Britons who perhaps were not yet wholly ruined, in the strongest and south-west parts of the isle,[5] send letters to Ætius, then third time consul of Rome, with this superscription; "To Ætius thrice consul, the groans of the Britons." And after a few words thus: "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians: thus bandied up and down between two deaths, we perish either by the sword or by the sea." But the empire, at that time overspread with Huns and Vandals, was not in a condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the enemy; others either more resolute, or less exposed to wants, keeping within woods and mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out, at length gave a stop to the insulting foe, with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in divine assistance. And perhaps no other here is meant than the aforesaid deliverance by German, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long here, the writers of his life assent not.[6] Finding therefore such

[3] Usser. Primod p. 333. [3] Post Christ. 431. Prosp. Acquit. Ethelwerd [4] Florent Guid. Bede. [5] Malmsbury, l. i. c. 1. p. 8. Post Christ. 446. [6] Gildas.

opposition, the Scotch or Irish robbers, for so they are indifferently termed, without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mentioned, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the island, using now and then to make inroads upon the Britons. But they in the mean while thus rid of their enemies, begin afresh to till the ground; which after cessation yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly been known for many ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grew up as fast; and with them, if Gildas deserve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embraced for good, wickedness honoured and esteemed as virtue. And this quality their valour had, against a foreign enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of government, and the search of truth, weak and shallow; in falsehood and wicked deeds, pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike, and the worse most an end was the weigher. All things were done contrary to public welfare and safety; nor only by secular men, for the clergy also, whose example should have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness, or swollen with pride and wilfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscreet, incompetent judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnished with judgment, and for manners thus qualified both priest and lay, they agree to choose them several kings of their own; as near as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's anointing, but such as were cruellest; and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death, by their anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of their kings, (and that they had not all one monarch, appears both in ages past and by the sequel,) it began, as nigh as may be guessed, either in this year[7] or the

[7] Post Christ. 447. Constant. Bede.

following, when they saw the Romans had quite deserted their claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the British clergy too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time German to their assistance; who coming with Severus a disciple of Lupus, that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continued right; but inquiring those authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all were delivered to German; who carrying them over with him,[8] disposed of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But Germanus the same year died in Italy, and the Britons not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour that their old troublers the Scots and Picts had prepared a strong invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the land from end to end. But ere their coming in, as if the instruments of divine justice had been at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked nation, the pestilence, forestalling the sword, left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preserved the land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessors, whom the contagion gave not leave now to enter far. And[9] yet the Britons, nothing bettered by these heavy judgments, the one threatened, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the palace of their king Vortigern with complaints and cries of what they suddenly feared from the Pictish invasion. Vortigern, who at that time was chief rather than sole king, unless the rest had perhaps left their dominions to the common enemy, is said by him of Monmouth, to have procured the death first of Constantine, then of Constance his son, who of a monk was made king, and by that means to have usurped the crown. But they who can remember how Constantine, with his son Constance the monk, the one made emperor, the other Cæsar, perished in France, may discern the simple fraud of this fable. But Vortigern however coming to reign, is deciphered by truer stories a proud unfortunate tyrant, and yet of the people much beloved, because his vices sorted so well with theirs. For neither was he skilled in war, nor wise in counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all

[8] Post Christ. 448. Sigon. Gildas. [9] Malms. l. 1.

vice; wasting the public treasure in gluttony and riot, careless of the common danger, and through haughty ignorance unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importuned and awakened at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general council, to provide some better means than heretofore had been used against these continual annoyances from the north. Wherein by advice of all it was determined, that the Saxons be invited into Britain against the Scots and Picts; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all their neighbours, both by sea and land; in particular to this island, witness that military force, which the Roman emperors maintained here purposely against them, under a special commander, whose title, as is found on good record,[1] was "Count of the Saxon shore in Britain,"[2] and the many mischiefs done by their landing here, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath been related, witness as much.[3] They were a people thought by good writers to be descended of the Sacæ, a kind of Scythians in the north of Asia, thence called Sacasons, or sons of Sacæ, who with a flood of other northern nations came into Europe, toward the declining of the Roman Empire, and using piracy from Denmark all along these seas, possessed at length by intrusion all that coast of Germany,[4] and the Netherlands, which took thence the name of Old Saxony, lying between the Rhine and Elve, and thence north as far as Eidora, the river bounding Holsatia, though not so firmly or so largely, but that their multitude wandered yet uncertain of habitation. Such guests as these the Britons resolve now to send for, and entreat into their houses and possessions, at whose very name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heaviest, which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one misery to another.

[4] The Britons therefore with Vortigern, who was then accounted king over them all, resolve in full council to send

[1] Notitiæ imperii. [2] Florent. Wigorn. ad. an 370. [3] Ethelward.
[4] Ethelwerd. Malmsb. Witichind. gest. Sax. l. 1.

ambassadors of their choicest men with great gifts, and, saith a Saxon writer in these words, desiring their aid; "Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame of your prowess, the distressed Britons wearied out, and overpressed by a continual invading enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. They have a land fertile and spacious, which to your commands they bid us surrender. Heretofore we have lived with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman empire. Next to them we know none worthier than yourselves: and therefore become supplants to your valour. Leave us not below our present enemies, and to aught by you imposed, willingly we shall submit." Yet Ethelwerd writes not that they promised subjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them,[5] hearing themselves entreated by the Britons, to that which gladly they would have wished to obtain of them by entreating, to the British embassy return this answer:[6] "Be assured henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful friends to the Britons, no less ready to stand by them in their need, than in their best of fortune." The ambassadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to their country, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction. [7]The Saxons, consulting first their gods (for they had answer, that the land whereto they went, they should hold three hundred years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long gallies,[8] or kyules, with a chosen company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, descended in the fourth degree from Woden; of whom, deified for the fame of his acts, most kings of those nations derive their pedigree. These, and either mixed with these, or soon after by themselves, two other tribes, or neighbouring people, Jutes and Angles, the one from Jutland, the other from Anglen by the city of Sleswick, both provinces of Denmark, arrive in the first year of Martian the Greek emperor, from the birth of Christ four hundred and fifty,[9] received with much good will of the people first, then of the king, who after some assurances given and taken, bestows on them the isle of Tanet, where they first landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager against

[5] Malms. [6] Witichind. [7] Gildas. [8] Bede.
[9] Post Christ. 450. Nennius. Malmsb.

the Picts, when they fought as for their own country, and more loyal to the Britons, from whom they had received a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The British Nennius writes, that these brethren were driven into exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who reigned in much fear, one while of the Picts, then of the Romans and Ambrosius, came opportunely into the haven [1] For it was the custom in Old Saxony, when their numerous offspring overflowed the narrowness of their bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forced.[2] But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt not here long without employment. For the Scots and Picts were now come down, some say, as far as Stamford, in Lincolnshire, whom perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the Saxons, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight:[3] and that more than once; slaying in fight,[4] as some Scotch writers affirm, their king Eugenius the son of Fergus. Hengist[5] perceiving the island to be rich and fruitful, but her princes and other inhabitants given to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with seventeen ships, were grown up now to a sufficient army, and entertained without suspicion on these terms, that they "should bear the brunt of war against the Picts, receiving stipend, and some place to inhabit." With these was brought over the daughter of Hengist, a virgin wonderous fair, as is reported, Rowen the British call her: she by commandment of her father, who had invited the king to a banquet, coming in presence with a bowl of wine to welcome him, and to attend on his cup till the feast ended, won so much upon his fancy, though already wived, as to demand her in marriage upon any conditions. Hengist at first, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excusing his meanness; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of Tanet enlarged to the circuit of Kent, had it straight by donation; though Guorangonus, till then, was king of that place; and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of Vortigern, gave his daughter. And still encroaching on the king's favour, got further leave to call over

[1] Malms. [2] Henry Huntingd. [3] Ethelwerd.
[4] Bed. Nen. [5] Nen.

Octa and Ebissa, his own and his brother's son; pretending that they, if the north were given them, would sit there as a continual defence against the Scots, while himself guarded the east.[6] They therefore sailing with forty ships, even to the Orcades, and every way curbing the Scots and Picts, possessed that part of the isle which is now Northumberland. Notwithstanding this, they complain that their monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the Britons found means to satisfy, though alleging withal, that they to whom promise was made of wages were nothing so many in number: quieted with this a while, but still seeking occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that their pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatening open war unless it be augmented. Guortimer, the king's son, perceiving his father and the kingdom thus betrayed, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making league with the Picts and Scots, and issuing out of Kent, wasted without resistance almost the whole land even to the western sea, with such a horrid devastation, that towns and colonies overturned, priests and people slain, temples and palaces, what with fire and sword, lay altogether heaped in one mixed ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfulness that brought this upon them, Gildas adds, that few or none were likely to be other than lewd and wicked persons. The residue of these, part overtaken in the mountains were slain; others subdued with hunger preferred slavery before instant death; some getting to rocks, hills, and woods inaccessible, preferred the fear and danger of any death, before the shame of a secure slavery;[7] many fled over sea into other countries; some into Holland, where yet remain the ruins of Brittenburgh, an old castle on the sea, to be seen at low water not far from Leyden, either built, as writers of their own affirm, or seized on by those Britons, in their escape from Hengist,[8] others into Armorica, peopled, as some think, with Britons long before, either by gift of Constantine the Great, or else of Maximus to those British forces which had served them in foreign wars;[9] to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter Constantine at Arles, and lastly, these exiles driven out by Saxons, fled for refuge. But

[6] Gildas, Bed. Nenn.
[7] Primord. p. 418.
[8] Malmsb. l. 1. c. 1.
[9] Huntingd. l. 1.

the ancient chronicles of those provinces attest their coming thither to be then first when they fled the Saxons; and indeed the name of Britain in France is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of fugitives, who had quitted without stroke their own country, should so soon win another, appears not, unless joined to some party of their own settled there before.[1] Vortigern, nothing bettered by these calamities, grew at last so obdurate as to commit incest with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the crown. For which being censured and condemned in a great synod of clerks and laics, partly for fear of the Saxons, according to the counsel of his peers, he retired into Wales, and built him there a strong castle in Radnorshire,[2] by the advice of Ambrosius a young prophet, whom others call Merlin. Nevertheless Faustus, who was the son thus incestuously begotten, under the instructions of German, or some of his disciples, for German was dead before, proved a religious man, and lived in devotion by the river Remnis, in Glamorganshire.[3] But the Saxons, though finding it so easy to subdue the isle, with most of their forces, uncertain for what cause, returned home: whenas the easiness of their conquest might seem rather likely to have called in more; which makes more probable that which the British write of Guortimer.[4] For he coming to reign, instead of his father deposed for incest, is said to have thrice driven and besieged the Saxons in the isle of Tanet; and when they issued out with powerful supplies sent from Saxony, to have fought with them four other battles, whereof three are named; the first on the river Darwent, the second at Episford, wherein Horsa the brother of Hengist fell, and on the British part Catigern the other son of Vortigern. The third in a field by Stonar, then called Lapis Tituli, in Tanet, where he beat them into their ships that bore them home, glad to have so escaped, and not venturing to land again for five years after. In the space whereof Guortimer dying, commanded they should bury him in the port of Stonar; persuaded that his bones lying there would be terror enough, to keep the Saxons from ever landing in that place: they, saith Nennius, neglecting his command, buried him in Lincoln. But concerning these times, ancientest annals of the Saxons

[1] Near Malmsb. [2] Nenn. [3] Gildas. [4] Nenn.

relate in this manner. [5]In the year four hundred and fifty-five, Hengist and Horsa fought against Vortigern, in a place called Eglesthrip, now Ailsford in Kent, where Horsa lost his life, of whom Horsted, the place of his burial, took name.

After this first battle and the death of his brother, Hengist with his son Esca took on him kingly title,[6] and peopled Kent with Jutes; who also then, or not long after, possessed the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire lying opposite. Two years after,[7] in a fight at Creganford, or Craford, Hengist and his son slew of the Britons four chief commanders, and as many thousand men; the rest in great disorder flying to London, with the total loss of Kent. And eight years[8] passing between, he made new war on the Britons; of whom, in a battle at Wippeds-fleot, twelve princes were slain, and Wipped the Saxon earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last encounter[9] was at a place not mentioned, where he gave them such an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to their enemies. And these perhaps are the four battles, according to Nennius, fought by Guortimer, though by these writers far differently related; and happening besides many other bickerings, in the space of twenty years, as Malmsbury reckons. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the Saxons, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withal in Kent, their own allotted dwelling, and sometimes on the very edge of the sea, which the word Wippeds-fleot seems to intimate. But Guortimer[1] now dead, and none of courage left to defend the land, Vortigern either by the power of his faction, or by the consent of all, reassumes the government: and Hengist thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restorement of his old favourer, returns again with great forces; but to Vortigern, who he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his son-in-law now that the only author of dissension beween them was removed by death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The king, both for his wife's sake and his own sottishness, consulting also with his peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the place of parley is agreed on, to which either side

[5] Post Christ. 455. Bede. Ethelwerd Florent. Annal Sax.
[6] The kingdom of Kent. [7] Post Christ. 457.
[8] Post Christ. 465. [9] Post Christ. 473. [1] Nennius.

was to repair without weapons. Hengist, whose meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly armed, and acquainted them to what extent. The watchword[2] was, Nemet eour saxes, that is, Draw your daggers; which they observing, when the Britons were thoroughly heated with wine (for the treaty it seems was not without cups), and provoked, as was plotted, by some affront, dispatched with those poniards every one his next man, to the number of three hundred, the chief of those that could do aught against him, either in counsel or in field. Vortigern they only bound and kept in custody, until he granted them for his ransom three provinces, which were called afterward Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex. Who thus dismissed, returing again to his solitary abode in the country of Guorthigirniaun, so called by his name, from thence to the castle of his own building in North Wales, by the river Tiebi; and living there obscurely among his wives, was at length burnt in his tower by fire from Heaven, at the prayer,[3] as some say, of German, but that coheres not; as others, by Ambrosius Aurelian; of whom, as we have heard at first, he stood in great great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the Saxons. Who, whether by constraint or of their own accord, after much mischief done, most of them returning back into their own country, left a fair opportunity to the Britons of avenging themselves easier on those who staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a virtuous and modest man, the last here of the Roman stock, advancing now onward against the late victors, defeat them in a memorable battle. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the British fables, makes this Ambrosius to be a younger son of that Constantine, whose eldest, as we heard, was Constance the monk; who both lost their lives abroad usurping the empire. But the express words both of Gildas and Bede assure us, that the parents of this Ambrosius having here borne regal dignity, were slain in these Pictish wars and commotions in the island. And if the fear of Ambrose induced Vortigern to call in the Saxons, it seems Vortigern usurped his right. I perceive not that Nennius makes any difference

[2] Malmsb. [3] Min. ex legend St Ger. Galfrid. Monmouth.

between him and Merlin; for that child without father, that prophesied to Vortigern, he names not Merlin, but Ambrose; makes him the son of a Roman consul, but concealed by his mother, as fearing that the king therefore sought his life: yet the youth no sooner confessed his parentage, but Vortigern either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, bestowed upon him all the west of Britain; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whosever son he was, he was the first,[4] according to surest authors, that led against the Saxons, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a time when most of the Saxon forces were departed home, the Britons gathered strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against their whole powers the second time returning, obtained this victory. Thus Ambrose as chief monarch of the isle succeeded Vortigern; to whose third son Pascentius he permitted the rule of two regions in Wales, Buelth and Guorthigirnaun. In his day, saith Nennius,[5] the Saxons prevailed not much: against whom Arthur, as being then chief general for the British kings, made great war, but more renowned in songs and romances, than in true stories. And the sequel itself declares as much. For in the year four hundred and seventy seven,[6] Ella, the Saxon, with his three sons, Cymen, Pleting, and Cissa, at a place in Sussex called Cymenshore, arrive in three ships, kill many of the Britons, chasing them that remained into the wood Andreds Leage. Another battle[7] was fought at Mercreds-Burnamsted, wherein Ella had by far the victory; but Huntingdon[8] makes it so doubtful, that the Saxons were constrained to send home for supplies. Four years[9] after, died Hengist, the first Saxon king of Kent; noted to have attained that dignity by craft as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildness or civility. His son Oeric, surnamed Oise, of whom the Kentish kings were called Oiscings, succeeded him, and sate content with his father's winnings, more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: he reigned twenty-four years. By this time[1] Ella and his son Cissa besieging Andrechester, supposed now

[4] Gildas. Bed. [5] Nenn. [6] Post. Christ. 477. Sax. an. Ethelw. Florent. [7] Post Christ. 485. Florent. [8] Huntingd.
[9] Post Christ. 489. Malms. Bed. l. 2 c. 5 [1] Post Christ. 492. Camd.

to be Newenden in Kent, take it by force, and all within it put to the sword.

Thus Ella, three years after the death of Hengist, began his kingdom of the South-Saxons;[1] peopling it with new inhabitants from the country which was then Old Saxony, at this day Holstein in Denmark, and had besides at his command all those provinces which the Saxons had won on this side Humber.[2] Animated with these good successes, as if Britain were become now the field of fortune, Kerdic another Saxon prince, the tenth by lineage from Woden,[3] an old and practised soldier, who in many prosperous conflicts against the enemy in those parts had nursed up a spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place, which from thence took the name of Kerdic-shore,[4] with five ships, and Keuric his son, the very same day overthrew the Britons that opposed him; and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large territory. After him[5] Porta another Saxon, with his two sons Bida and Megla, in two ships arrive at Portsmouth thence called, and at their landing slew a young British nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them.[6] The Britons to recover what they had lost, draw together all their forces, led by Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a certain king in Britain, and the greatest, saith one; but with him five thousand of his men Kerdic puts to rout and slays. From whence the place in Hantshire, as far as Kerdicsford, now Chardford, was called of old Nazaleod. Who this king should be, hath bred much question; some think it to be the British name of Ambrose, others to be the right name of his brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the surname of Uther, which in the Welch tongues signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a king in Britain there was as Uther Pendragon, for so also the Monmouth book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. Kerdic by so great a blow given to the Britons had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends as he desired to make great; for which cause, and withal the

[1] The kingdom of South Saxons. [2] Bed. l. 1. c. 15. and l. 2. c. 5.
[3] Sax. ann. omn. [4] Post Christ. 495.
[5] Post Christ. 501. Sax. an. omn. Huntingdon.
[6] Post Christ. 508. Ann. omn. Huntingd. Camden. Uss. Primord.

more to strengthen himself, his two nephews Stuff and Withgar, in three vessels bring him new levies to Kerdic-shore.[7] Who, that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by their own seeking, or by appointment, are set in a place where they could not but at their first coming give proof of themselves upon the enemy, and so well they did it, that the Britons after a hard encounter left them masters of the field.[8] About the same time, Ella the first South-Saxon king died, whom Cissa, his youngest son, succeeded; the other two failing before him.

Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the West-Saxon kingdom, that Uffa, the eighth from Woden, made himself king of the East-Angles;[9] who by their name testify the country above mentioned; from whence they came in such multitudes, that their native soil is said to have remained in the days of Beda uninhabited.[1] Huntingdon defers the time of their coming in to the ninth year of Kerdic's reign: for, saith he,[2] at first many of them strove for principality, seizing every one his province, and for some while so continued, making petty wars among themselves; [3]till in the end Uffa, of whom those kings were called Uffings, overtopped them all in the year five hundred and seventy one; [4]then Titulus his son, the father of Redwald, who became potent.

And not much after the East-Angles, began also the East-Saxons to erect a kingdom under Sleda, the tenth from Woden. But Huntingdon, as before, will have it later by eleven years, and Erchenwin to be the first king.

Kerdic the same in power, though not so fond of title, forbore the name twenty-four years after his arrival; but then founded so firmly the kingdom of West-Saxons,[5] that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole monarchy of England. The same year he had a victory against the Britons at Kerdic's ford by the River Aven: and after eight years,[6] another great fight at Kerdic's leage, but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto have been collected what there is of certainty with circumstance of time and place to

[7] Post Christ. 514. An. omn. [8] Huntingdon. [9] The kingdom of East-Angles. [1] Malmsb. l. 1. c. 5. Bed. l. 1. c. 15. [2] Huntingd. l. 2. pp 313, 315. [3] Bed. l. 2. c. 15. [4] Malms. l. 1. c. 6. [5] Post Christ. 519. [6] Sax. ann omn. 527.

be found registered, and no more than barely registered, in annals of best note; without describing after Huntingdon the manner of those battles and encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of books, may be confident he never found in any current author, whom he had to follow. But this disease hath been incident to many more historians: and the age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharged with all the idle fancies of posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on Saxon relaters, Gildas, in antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the British valour, as declares the Saxons in his time and before to have been foiled not seldomer than the Britons. For besides that first victory of Ambrose, and the interchangeable success long after, he tells that the last overthrow, which they received at Badonhill, was not the least; which they in their oldest annals mention not at all. And because the time of this battle, by any who could do more than guess, is not set down, or any foundation given from whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such authors as we have to follow give the conduct and praise of this exploit to Arthur; and that this was the last of twelve great battles, which he fought victoriously against the Saxons. The several places written by Nennius in their Welch names[7] were many hundred years ago unknown, and so here omitted. But who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason. For the monk of Malmsbury, and others, whose credit hath swayed most with the learneder sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this Arthur five hundred years past, nor of his doings, than we now living; and what they had to say, transcribed out of Nennius, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already been related; or out of a British book, the same which he of Monmouth set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than six hundred years after the days of Arthur, of whom (as Sigebert in his chronicle confesses) all other histories were silent, both foreign and domestic, except only that fabulous book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old legends and cathe-

[7] Nenn.

dral regests. But he who can accept of legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnished with two only necessaries, leisure and belief; whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to Arthur, no less is in doubt who was his father; for if it be true, as Nennius or his notist avers, that Arthur was called Mab-Uther, that is to say, a cruel son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a child, and the intent of his name Arturus imports as much, it might well be that some in after-ages, who sought to turn him into a fable, wrested the word Uther into a proper name, and so feigned him the son of Uther; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person lived till Geoffrey of Monmouth set him off with the surname of Pendragon. And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that victory at Badon-hill were his or no, is uncertain; Gildas not naming him, as he did Ambrose in the former Next, if it be true as Caradoc relates,[8] that Melvas, king of that country which is now Somerset, kept from him Gueniver his wife a whole year in the town of Glaston, and restored her at the entreaty of Gildas, rather than for any enforcement that Arthur with all his chivalry could make against a small town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledge in war, or the force he had to make, been answerable to the fame they bear, that petty king had neither dared such affront, nor he been so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering lastly how the Saxons gained upon him every where all the time of his supposed reign, which began, as some write,[9] in the tenth year of Kerdic, who wrung from him by long war the counties of Somerset and Hampshire; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelihood of those great acts that are ascribed to him. This[1] only is alleged by Nennius in Arthur's behalf, that the Saxons, though vanquished never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual supplies out of Germany. And the truth is, that valour may be overtoiled, and overcome at last with endless overcoming. But as for this battle of mount Badon, where the Saxons were hemmed in or besieged, whether by Arthur won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to

[8] Caradoc. Llancarvon. vit. Gild. [9] Malms. antiquit. Glaston. Post Christ. 529. [1] Primord. p. 468. Polychronic. l. 5. c. 6.

have given a most undoubted and important blow to the Saxons, and to have stopped their proceedings for a good while after. Gildas himself witnessing, that the Britons, having thus compelled them to sit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil discord among themselves. Which words may seem to let in some light toward the searching out when this battle was fought. And we shall find no time since the first Saxon war, from whence a longer peace ensued, than from the fight at Kerdic's Leage, in the year five hundred and twenty-seven, which all the chronicles mention, without victory to Kerdic; and give us argument from the custom they have of magnifying their own deeds upon all occasions, to presume here is ill speeding. And if we look still onward, even to the forty-fourth year after, wherein Gildas wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with every little war between the Britons and Saxons. This[2] only remains difficult, that the victory first won by Ambrose was not so long before this at Badon siege, but that the same men living might be eyewitnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by Arthur, unless we reckon him a grown youth at least in the days of Ambrose, and much more than a youth, if Malmsbury be heard, who affirms all the exploits of Ambrose to have been done chiefly by Arthur as his general, which will add much unbelief to the common assertion of his reigning after Ambrose and Uther, especially the fight of Badon being the last of his twelve battles. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at Kirdic's Leage, though it differ in name from that of Badon, may be thought the same by all effects; Kerdic three years after,[3] not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his forces on the Isle of Wight; which, with the slaying of a few only in Withgarburgh, he soon masters; and not long surviving, left it to his nephews by the mother's side, Stuff and Withgar:[4] the rest of what he had subdued, Kenric his son held; and reigned twenty-six years, in whose tenth year Withgar was buried in the town of that island which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlikelihoods of Arthur's reign and great achievements, in a narration crept in I know not how among the laws of Edward the Confessor, Arthur, the famous

[2] Gildas. [3] Post Christ. 530. Sax. an. omn. [4] Post Christ. 534.
[5] Post Christ. 544.

king of Britons, is said not only to have expelled hence the Saracens, who were not then known in Europe, but to have conquered Friesland, and all the north-east isles as far as Russia, to have made Lapland the eastern bound of his empire, and Norway the chamber of Britain. When should this be done? From the Saxons, till after twelve battles, he had no rest at home; after those, the Britons, contented with the quiet they had from their Saxon enemies, were so far from seeking conquests abroad, that by report of Gildas above cited, they fell to civil wars at home. Surely Arthur much better had made war in old Saxony, to repress their flowing hither, than to have won kingdoms as far as Russia, scarce able here to defend his own. Buchanan our neighbour historian reprehends him of Monmouth, and others, for fabling in the deeds of Arthur; yet what he writes thereof himself, as of better credit, shows not whence he had but from those fables; which he seems content to believe in part, on condition that the Scots and Picts may be thought to have assisted Arthur in all his wars and achievements; whereof appears as little ground by credible story, as of that which he most counts fabulous. But not further to contest about such uncertainties.

In the year five hundred and forty seven,[6] Ida the Saxon, sprung also from Woden in the tenth degree, began the kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland; built the town of Bebenburgh, which was after walled; and had twelve sons, half by wives and half by concubines. Hengist, by leave of Vortigern, we may remember, had sent Octave and Ebissa, to seek them seats in the north, and there, by warring on the Picts, to secure the southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those countries, and though so far distant from Kent, nor without power in their hands, yet kept themselves nigh a hundred and eighty years within moderation; and as inferiour governours, they and their offspring gave obedience to the kings of Kent, as to the elder family. Till at length, following the example of that age, when no less than kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of their nation, to assume royalty. Of whom Ida was the first,[7] a man in the prime of his years, and of parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the crown,

[6] Post Christ. 547. Annal omn. Bed. Epit. Malms. [7] Malms.

aspiring or by free choice, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his virtues made him not less noble than his birth; in war undaunted and unfoiled, in peace tempering the awe of magistracy with a natural mildness, he reigned about twelve years. [7]In the mean while Keuric in a fight at Searesburig, now Salisbury, killed and put to flight many of the Britons; and the fourth year after at Beranvirig,[8] now Banbury, as some think, with Keaulin his son, again put them to flight. Keaulin shortly after succeeded his father in the West-Saxons. And Elli, descended also of Woden, but of another line, set up a second kingdom in Deira, the south part of Northumberland,[9] and held it thirty years; while Adda, the son of Ida, and five more after him, reigned without other memory in Bernicia: and in Kent, Ethelbert the next year began.[1] But Esca the son of Hengist had left Otha, and he Emeric to rule after him; both which, without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace fifty-three years. But Ethelbert in length of reign equalled both his progenitors, and as Beda counts, three years exceeded. Young[3] at his first entrance, and unexperienced, he was the first raiser of the civil war among the Saxons; claiming from the priority of time wherein Hengist took possession here, a kind of right over the latter kingdoms; and thereupon was troublesome to their confines; but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadful, became almost contemptible. For Keaulin and Cutha his son, pursuing him into his own territory,[3] slew there in battle, at Wibbandun, two of his earls, Oslac and Cueban. By this means the Britons, but chiefly by this victory of Badon, for the space of forty-four years, ending in five hundred and seventy-one, received no great annoyance from the Saxons: but the peace they enjoyed, by ill using of it, proved more destructive to them than war. For being raised on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thraldom, they whose eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by Ambrose and this at Badon, were taught by the experience of either fortune, both kings, magistrates, priests and private men, to live orderly. But when the next age,[5] unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease and

[7] Post Christ. 552. Annal. omn.
[8] Post Christ. 556. Camden.
[9] Post Christ. 560. Annal Florent.
Post Christ. 561. [2] Malms.
[3] Ann. omn. Post Christ 563.
[4] Gildas.

quiet, succeeded, straight followed the apparent subversion of all truth and justice in the minds of most men: scarce the least footstep or impression of goodness left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the land; except in some so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the neighbouring nations. And first their kings, amongst whom also the sons or grandchildren of Ambrose, were foully degenerated to all tyranny and vicious life. Whereof to hear some particulars out of Gildas, will not be impertinent. They avenge, saith he, and they protect, not the innocent, but the guilty; they swear oft, but perjure; they wage war, but civil and unjust war. They punish rigorously them that rob by the highway; but those grand robbers, that sit with them at table, they honour and reward. They give alms largely, but in the face of their almsdeeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in a seat of judgment, but go seldom by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless, but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominable crimes; they stuff their prisons, but with men committed rather by circumvention than by any just cause. Nothing better were the clergy, but at the same pass, or rather worse than when the Saxons came first in; unlearned, unapprehensive, yet impudent, subtle prowlers, pastors in name, but indeed wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper and well-line themselves: not called but seizing on the ministry as a trade, not as a spiritual charge; teaching the people not by sound doctrine, but by evil example; usurping the chair of Peter, but through the blindness of their own worldly lusts, they stumble upon the seat of Judas; deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies; looking on poor Christians with eyes of pride and contempt; but fawning on the wickedest rich men without shame: great promoters of other men's alms, with their set exhortations; but themselves contributing ever least: slightly touching the many vices of the age, but preaching without end their own grievances as done to Christ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the church, more than after heaven; and so gained, made it their whole study how to keep them by any tyranny. Yet lest they should be thought things of no use in their eminent places, they have their niceties and trivial points to keep

in awe the superstitious multitude; but in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay, forbidding and silencing them that know, but in worldy matters, practised and cunning shifters; in that only art and simony great clerks and masters, bearing their heads high, but their thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor laity, so he goes on, these beasts, all belly? Shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil doings? Shall thou see with their eyes, who see right forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blindfold into the same perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what availed it Eli to behimself blameless, while he connived at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envied for his better life? Who of them hath hated to consort with these, or withstood their entering the ministry, or endeavoured zealously their casting out? Yet some of these perhaps by others are legended for great saints. This was the state of government, this of religion among the Britons in that long calm of peace, which the fight at Badon-hill had brought forth. Whereby it came to pass, that so fair a victory came to nothing. Towns and cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruined and waste; nor was it long ere domestic war breaking out wasted them more. For Britain,[5] as at other times, had then also several kings: five of whom Gildas, living then in Armorica at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name: first, Constantine, (fabled the son of Cador, duke of Cornwall, Arthur's half brother by the mother's side) who then reigned in Cornwall and Devon, a tyrannical and bloody king, polluted also with many adulteries: he got into his power two young princes of the blood royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwise suspected; and after solemn oath given of their safety, the year that Gildas wrote slew them with their two governors in the church, and in their mother's arms, through the abbot's cope which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his vesture to have withheld the murderer. These are commonly supposed to be the sons of Mordred, Arthur's nephew, said to have revolted from his uncle, giving him in a battle his death's wound, and by him after to have

[5] Primord. p. 444.

been slain. Which things, were they true, would much diminish the blame of cruelty in Constantine, revenging Arthur on the sons of so false a Mordred. In another part, but not expressed where, Aurelius Conanus was king: him he charges also with adulteries and parricide; cruelties worse than the former; to be a hater of his country's peace, thirsting after civil war and prey. His condition, it seems, was not very prosperous, for Gildas wishes him, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midst of a barren field, to remember the vanity and arrogance of his father and elder brethren, who came all to untimely death in their youth. The third reigning in Demetia, or South Wales, was Vortipor, the son of a good father; he was, when Gildas wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in adulteries; and in governing, full of falsehood and cruel actions. In his latter days, putting away his wife, who died in divorce, he became, if we mistake not Gildas, incestuous with his daughter. The fourth was Cuneglas, imbrued in civil war, he also had divorced his wife, and taken her sister, who had vowed widowhood: he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth. The last, but greatest of all in power, was Maglocune, and greatest also in wickedness: he had driven out, or slain, many other kings, or tyrants, and was called the Island Dragon, perhaps having his seat in Anglesey: a profuse giver, a great warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle, though in the head of a complete army, and took from him the kingdom: then touched with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation, took upon him the profession of a monk; but soon forsook his vow, and his wife also; which for that vow he had left, making love to the wife of his brother's son then living. Who not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that enticed, found means both to dispatch her own husband, and the former wife of Maglocune, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man, reputed of all Britain, the instituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the Britons from the time of their useless victory at Badon, to the time that Gildas wrote, that is to say, as may be guessed, from five hundred and twenty-seven to five hun-

dred and seventy-one, is here set down altogether; not to be reduced under any certainty of years. But now the Saxons, who for the most part all this while had been still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they had maintained on this side Wales. For Cuthulf, the brother of Keaulin,[6] by a victory obtained at Bedanford, now Belford, took from them four good towns, Laganburgh, Eglesburgh, Bensington now Benson in Oxfordshire, and Ignesham; but outlived not many months his good successes. And after six years more,[7] Keaulin, and Cuthwin his son, gave them a great overthrow at Deorrham in Gloucestershire, slew three of their kings, Comail, Condidan, and Farinmaile: and took three of their chief cities, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Badencester. The Britons notwithstanding, after some space of time,[8] judging to have outgrown their losses, gather to a head and encounter Keaulin, with Cutha his son, at Fethanleage; whom valiantly fighting, they slew among the thickest, and, as is said, forced the Saxons to retire.[9] But Keaulin, reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout; and following his advantage, took many towns, and returned laden with rich booty.

The last of those Saxons, who raised their own achievements to a monarchy, was Crida, much about this time, first founder of the Mercian kingdom,[1] drawing also his pedigree from Woden. Of whom all to write the several genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were in my opinion to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names, to little purpose.[2] This may suffice, that of Woden's three sons, from the eldest issued Hengist, and his succession; from the second, the kings of Mercia; from the third all that reigned in West-Saxony, and most of the Northumbers, of whom Alla was one, the first king of Deira; which, after his death, the race of Ida seized, and made it one kingdom with Bernicia,[3] usurping the childhood of Edwin, Alla's son; whom Ethelric, the son of Ida, expelled. Notwithstanding others write of him, that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old age, coming to the crown, he could hardly, by the access of a kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not

[6] Post Christ. 571. Camden Annal omn. [7] Post Christ. 577.
[8] Post Christ. 584. [9] Huntingd. [1] The kingdom of Mercia. Huntingd. Matt. Westm. [2] Malmsb. l. 1. c. 3. [3] Florent. ad ann. Post Christ. 559.

the fame of his son preserved him Once more the Britons,[4] ere they quitted all on this side the mountains, forgot not to show some manhood; for meeting Keaulin at Woden's-beorth, that is to say, at Woden's-mount in Wiltshire;[5] whether it were by their own forces, or assisted by the Angles, whose hatred Keaulin had incurred, they ruined the whole army, and chased him out of his kingdom; from whence flying, he died the next year in poverty, who a little before was the most potent, and indeed sole king of all the Saxons on this side Humber. But who was chief among the Britons in this exploit had been worth remembering, whether it were Maglocune, of whose prowess hath been spoken, or Teudric king of Glamorgan, whom the regest of Landaff recounts to have been always victorious in fight; to have reigned about this time, and at length to have exchanged his crown for an hermitage; till in the aid of his son Mouric, whom the Saxons had reduced to extremes, taking arms again, he defeated them at Tinterne by the river Wye; but himself received a mortal wound.[6] The same year with Keaulin, whom Keola the son of Cuthulf, Keaulin's brother, succeeded, Crida also the Mercian king deceased, in whose room Wibba succeeded; and in Northumberland, Ethelfrid, in the room of Ethelric, reigning twenty-four years. Thus omitting fables, we have the view of what with reason can be relied on for truth, done in Britain since the Romans forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many miseries and desolations brought by divine hand on a perverse nation; driven, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair country, into a mountainous and barren corner, by strangers and pagans. So much more tolerable in the eye of heaven is infidelity professed, than Christian faith and religion dishonoured by un-Christian works. Yet they also at length renounced their heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE Saxons grown up now to seven absolute kingdoms, and the latest of them established by succession, finding their power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gained

[4] Post Christ. 588. Annal. omn. Bed. l. 2. c. 3. Malms. Florent. Sax. ann.

[5] Post Christ. 592. Florent.

[6] Post Christ 593.

upon the Britons, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's greatness. Which quickly bred among them either envy or mutual jealousies; till the west kingdom at length grown overpowerful, put an end to all the rest.[7] Meanwhile, above others, Ethelbert of Kent, who by this time had well ripened his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in war, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains: and by degrees brought all the other monarchies between Kent and Humber to be at his devotion. To which design the kingdom of West Saxons, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shaken by their overthrow at Woden's-beorth, and the death of Keaulin, gave him, no doubt, a main advantage; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earned it by continual victories [8]And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries Bertha the French king's daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her faith, under the care and instruction of Letardus a bishop, sent by her parents along with her; the king notwithstanding and his people retaining their old religion. Beda[9] out of Gildas lays it sadly to the Britons' charge, that they never would vouchsafe their Saxon neighbours the means of conversion; but how far to blame they were,[1] and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least falsehood, from their first arrival, is not now easy to determine.[2] Howbeit not long after they had the Christian faith preached to them by a nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in Beda's time) upon this occasion.

The Northumbrians had a custom at that time, and many hundred years after not abolished, to sell their children for a small value into any foreign land. Of which number two comely youths were brought to Rome, whose fair and honest countenances invited Gregory, archdeacon of that city, among others that beheld them, pitying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answered by some who stood by, that they were Angli of the province Deira, subjects to Alla king of Northumberland; and by religion, pagans. Which last Gregory deploring, framed on a sudden this allusion to

[7] Bed. Malms. [8] Bed. l. 1. c. 25. [9] Bed. l. 1. c. 22.
[1] Bed. l. 2. c. 1. [2] Malms. l. 1. c. 3.

the three names he heard; that the Angli so like to angels should be snatched 'de ira,' that is, from the wrath of God, to sing hallelujah: and forthwith obtaining license of Benedict the pope, had come and preached here among them, had not the Roman people, whose love endured not the absence of so vigilant a pastor over them, recalled him then on his journey, though but deferred his pious intention.[3] For a while after, succeeding in the papal seat, and now in his fourth year, admonished, saith Beda, by divine instinct, he sent Augustin, whom he had designed for bishop of the English nation, and other zealous monks with him, to preach to them the gospel. Who being now on their way, discouraged by some reports, or their own carnal fear, sent back Austin, in the name of all, to beseech Gregory they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel nation, whose tongue they understood not. Gregory with pious and apostolic persuasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of divine assistance. The letter itself, yet extant among our writers of ecclesiastic story, I omit here, as not professing to relate of those matters more than what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The abbot Austin, for so he was ordained over the rest, reincouraged by the exhortations of Gregory, and his fellows by the letter which he brought them, came safe to the isle of Tanet,[4] in number about forty, besides some of the French nation, whom they took along as interpreters. Ethelbert the king, to whom Austin at his landing had sent a new and wondrous message, that he came from Rome to proffer heaven and eternal happiness in the knowledge of another God than the Saxon knew, appoints them to remain where they had landed, and necessaries to be provided for them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the island, chose a place to meet them under the open sky, possessed with an old persuasion, that all spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side called to his presence, advancing for their standard a silver cross, and the painted image of our Saviour, came slowly forward, singing their solemn litanies: which wrought in Ethelbert more suspicion perhaps that they used

[3] Post Christ. 596. [4] Post Christ. 597.

enchantments; till sitting down as the king willed them, they there preached to him, and all in that assembly, the tidings of salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the king thus answered: "Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot easily assent to, quitting the religion which from my ancestors, with all the English nation, so many years I have retained. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I persuade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure, we shall not recompense you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief." And accordingly their residence he allotted them in Doroverne or Canterbury his chief city, and made provision for their maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of their holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the king's, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the city on the east side, an ancient church built in honour of St. Martin, while yet the Romans remained here: in which Bertha the queen went out usually to pray:[5] here they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise divine worship. But when the king himself, convinced by their good life and miracles, became Christian, and was baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of their arrival, then multitudes daily, conforming to their prince, thought it honour to be reckoned among those of his faith. To whom Ethelbert indeed principally showed his favour, but compelled none. [6]For so he had been taught by them who were both the instructors and the authors of his faith, that Christian religion ought to be voluntary, not compelled. About this time Kelwulf the son of Cutha, Keaulin's brother, reigned over the West Saxons,[7] after his brother Keola or Kelric, and had continual war either with English, Welsh, Picts, or Scots. But Austin,[8] whom with his fellows Ethelbert had now endowed with a better place

[5] Post Christ. 598. [6] Bed. l. 2. c. 5. [7] Sax. ann. Malms. Christ. 601. [8] Bed. l. 1. c. 27.

for their abode in the city, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into France, was by the archbishop of Arles, at the appointment of pope Gregory, ordained archbishop of the English, and returning, sent to Rome Laurence and Peter, two of his associates, to acquaint the pope of his good success in England, and to be resolved of certain theological, or rather levitical questions: with answers to which, not proper in this place, Gregory sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; who what they were, may be guessed by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the altar, copes, reliques, and for the archbishop Austin a pall to say mass in: to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of apostolic zeal Lastly, to Ethelbert they brought a letter with many presents. Austin, thus exalted to archiepiscopal authority, recovered from the ruins and other profane uses a Christian church in Canterbury, built of old by the Romans, which he dedicated by the name of Christ's church, and joining to it built a seat for himself and his successors; a monastery also near the city eastward, where Ethelbert at his motion built St Peter's, and enriched it with great endowments, to be a place of burial for the archbishops and kings of Kent: so quickly they stepped up into fellowship of pomp with kings. While thus Ethelbert[9] and his people had their minds intent, Ethelfrid the Northumbrian king was not less busied in far different affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more wasted the Britons than any Saxon king before him; winning from them large territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own subjects. Whence[1] Edan king of those Scots that dwelt in Britain, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty army, to a place called Degsastan; but in the fight losing most of his men, himself with a few escaped: only Theobald the king's brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the victory to Ethelfrid less entire. Yet from that time no king of Scots in hostile manner durst pass into Britain for a hundred and more years after: and what some years before Kelwulf the West Saxon is annalled to have done against the

[1] Bed. l. 2 c. 34 Post Christ 603

Scots and Picts, passing through the land of Ethelfrid a king so potent, unless in his aid and alliance, is not likely. Buchanan writes as if Ethelfrid, assisted by Keaulin whom he mistitles king of East Saxons, had before this time a battle with Aidan, wherein Cutha, Keaulin's son, was slain. But Cutha, as is above written from better authority, was slain in fight against the Welsh twenty years before. [2]The number of Christians began now to increase so fast that Augustin, ordaining bishops under him, two of his assistants Mellitus and Justus, sent them out both to the work of their ministry. And Mellitus by preaching converted the East Saxons, over whom Sebert the son of Sleda, by permission of Ethelbert, being born of his sister Ricula, then reigned. Whose conversion Ethelbert to gratulate, built them the great church of St. Paul in London to be their bishop's cathedral; as Justus also had his built at Rochester, and both gifted by the same king with fair possessions. Hitherto Austin laboured well among infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among the Christians. For by means of Ethelbert summoning the Britain bishops to a place on the edge of Worcestershire, called from that time Augustin's oak, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating Easter, and many other points wherein they differed from the rites of Rome: which when they refused to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a miracle, restoring to sight a blind man whom the Britons could not cure At this something moved, though not minded to recede from their own opinions without further consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven Britain bishops, with many other learned men, especially from the famous monastery of Bangor, in which were said to be so many monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under seven rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who staid behind, a hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest who went: being demanded, for they held him as an oracle, how they might know Austin to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answered, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what

[2] Post Christ 604 Bed. l. 2. c 3

he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom Austin, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor received in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his chair. Whereat the Britons, as they were counselled by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hearkened to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an archbishop: and in the name of the rest,[3] Dinothus, then abbot of Bangor, is said thus sagely to have answered him: "As to the subjection which you require, be thus persuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all subjects and servants to the church of God, yea to the pope of Rome, and every good Christian, to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the children of God: other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are governed under God by the bishop of Caerleon, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters." To which Austin thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, "Since ye refuse to accept of peace with your brethren, ye shall have war from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the word of life to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive death." This, though writers agree not whether Austin spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the Britons, fell out accordingly. "For many years were not past, when Ethelfrid, whether of his own accord, or at the request of Ethelbert, incensed by Austin, with a powerful host came to Westchester, then Caer-legion, where being met by the British forces, and both sides in readiness to give the onset, he discerns a company of men, not habited for war, standing together in a place of some safety; and by them a squadron armed. Whom having learnt upon some inquiry to be priests and monks, assembled thither after three days' fasting, to pray for the good success of their forces against him, "therefore they first," saith he, "shall feel our swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by their prayers, and are our dangerousest enemies." And with that turns his first charge upon the monks. Broc-

[3] Spelman. Concil p. 108. [4] Sax. ann. Hunting. Post Christ. 607.

mail, the captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above twelve hundred monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce fifty escaped. But not so easy work found Ethelfrid against another part of Britons that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own soldiers. To excuse Austin of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, Beda writes, that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting archbishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. [5]Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose weight we know. [6]The same year Kelwulf made war on the South Saxons, bloody, saith Huntingdon, to both sides, but most to them of the south:[7] and, four years after, dying, left the government of West Saxons to Kinegils and Cuichelm, the sons of his brother Keola. Others, as Florent of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster, will have Cuichelm son of Kinegils, but admitted to reign with his father, in whose third year[8] they are recorded with joint forces or conduct to have fought against the Britons in Beandune, now Bindon in Dorsetshire, and to have slain of them above two thousand. [9]More memorable was the second year following, by the death of Ethelbert the first Christian king of Saxons, and no less a favourer of all civility in that rude age. He gave laws and statutes after the example of Roman emperors, written with the advice of his sagest counsellors, but in the English tongue, and observed long after. Wherein his special care was to punish those who had stolen aught from church or churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he received at their hands the Christian faith. Which, he no sooner dead, but his son Eadbald took the course as fast to extinguish; not only falling back into heathenism, but that which heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his father's second wife. Then soon was perceived what multitudes for fear or countenance of the king had professed Christianity, returning now as eagerly to their old religion. Nor staid the apostacy within one province, but quickly spread over to the East Saxons, occasioned there

[5] Malms. gest. pont. l. 1. [6] Sax. ann. [7] Post Christ. 611. Sax. ann. Malm. [8] Post Christ. 614. Camden. [9] Post Christ. 616. Sax. an.

likewise, or set forward, by the death of their Christian king Sebert: whose three sons, of whom two are named Sexted and Seward,[1] neither in his lifetime would be brought to baptism, and after his decease reestablished the free exercise of idolatry; nor so content, they set themselves in despight to do some open profanation against the other sacrament. Coming therefore into the church where Mellitus the bishop was ministering, they required him in abuse and scorn to deliver to them unbaptized the consecrated bread; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of their dominion. Who crossed forthwith into Kent, where things were in the same plight, and thence into France, with Justus bishop of Rochester. But divine vengeance deferred not long the punishment of men so impious; for Eadbald, vexed with an evil spirit, fell often into foul fits of distraction; and the sons of Sebert, in a fight against the West Saxons, perished with their whole army. But Eadbald, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when Lawrence the archbishop and successor of Austin was preparing to ship for France, after Justus and Mellitus, the story goes, if it be worth believing, that St Peter, in whose church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appeared to him, and to make the vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock; at sight whereof the king (to whom next morning he showed the marks of what he had suffered, by whom and for what cause) relenting and in great fear, dissolved his incestuous marriage, and applied himself to the Christian faith more sincerely than before, with all his people. But the Londoners, addicted still to paganism, would not be persuaded to receive again Mellitus their bishop, and to compel them was not in his power. Thus[2] much through all the south was troubled in religion, as much were the north parts disquieted through ambition. For Ethelfrid of Bernicia, as was touched before, having thrown Edwin out of Deira, and joined that kingdom to his own, not content to have bereaved him of his right, whose known virtues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his enemies, sends messengers to demand him of Redwald king of East Angles; under whose protection, after many years wandering obscurely through all the island, he had placed his safety. Redwald, though

[1] Malms. [2] Post Christ. 617.

having promised all defence to Edwin as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of Ethelfrid, yielded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into their hands: but earnestly exhorted by his wife, not to betray the faith and inviolable law of hospitality and refuge given,[3] prefers his first promise as the more religious; nor only refuses to deliver him, but since war was thereupon denounced, determines to be beforehand with the danger, and with a sudden army raised, surprises Ethelfrid, little dreaming an invasion, and in a fight near to the east side of the river Idle, on the Mercian border, now Nottinghamshire, slays him,[4] dissipating easily those few forces which he had got to march out overhastily with him; who yet, as a testimony of his fortune, not his valour to be blamed, slew first with his own hands Reiner the king's son. His two sons Oswald and Oswi, by Acca, Edwin's sister, escaped into Scotland. By this victory Redwald became so far superior to the other Saxon kings, that Beda reckons him the next after Ella and Ethelbert; who besides this conquest at the north, had likewise all on the hither side Humber at his obedience. He had formerly in Kent received baptism,[5] but coming home, and persuaded by his wife, who still it seems was his chief counsellor to good or bad alike, relapsed into his old religion: yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either, for more assurance to keep them both; and in the same temple erected one altar to Christ, another to his idols. But Edwin, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retained, the Christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him, subduing all, saith Beda, English or British, even to the isles, then called Mevanian, Anglesey, and Man, settled in his kingdom by Redwald, he sought in marriage Edelburga, whom others call Tate, the daughter of Ethelbert. To whose ambassadors Eadbald her brother made answer, that "to wed their daughter to a pagan, was not the Christian law." Edwin replied, that "to her religion he would be no hinderance, which with her whole household she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examined it were found the better, he would embrace it." These ingenuous offers, opening so fair a way to the

[3] Malms. l. 1. c. 3. [4] Camden. [5] Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

advancement of truth, are accepted,[6] and Paulinus as a spiritual guardian sent along with the virgin. He being to that purpose made bishop by Justus, omitted no occasion to plant the Gospel in those parts, but with small success, till the next year[7] Cuichelm, at that time one of the two West-Saxon kings, envious of the greatness which he saw Edwin growing up to, sent privily Eumerus a hired swordsman to assassin him; who, under pretence of doing a message from his master, with a poisoned weapon stabs at Edwin, conferring with him in his house, by the river Derwent in Yorkshire, on an Easter-day, which Lilla one of the king's attendants, at the instant perceiving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandoned his whole body to the blow; which notwithstanding made passage through to the king's person with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompassed now with swords, and desperate, sore revenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his poniard reached home. Paulinus omitting no opportunity to win the king from misbelief, obtained at length this promise from him: that if Christ, whom he so magnified, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young daughter Eanfled to be bred up in religion; who, with twelve others of his family, on the day of Pentecost was baptised. And by that time well recovered of his wound, to punish the authors of so foul a fact, he went with an army against the West Saxons: whom having quelled by war, and of such as had conspired against him, put some to death, others pardoned, he returned home victorious, and from that time worshipped no more his idols, yet ventured not rashly into baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others whom he held wisest; though Boniface the pope, by large letters of exhortation both to him and his queen, was not wanting to quicken his belief. But while he still deferred, and his deferring might seem now to have passed the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingering, Paulinus by revelation, as was believed, coming to the knowledge of a secret which befel him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the

[6] Post Christ. 626. [7] Post Christ. 625.

head of the king, asked him if he remembered what that sign meant; the king trembling, and in amaze rizing up, straight fell at his feet. "Behold," saith Paulinus, raising him from the ground, "God hath delivered you from your enemies, and given you the kingdom as you desired; perform now what long since you promised him, to receive his doctrine, which I now bring you, and the faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity add eternal." The promise claimed of him by Paulinus, how and wherefore made, though savouring much of legend, is thus related. Redwald, as we have heard before, dazzled with the gold of Ethelfrid, or by his threatening overawed, having promised to yield up Edwin, one of his faithful companions, of which he had some few with him in the court of Redwald, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of the night comes in haste to his chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveals to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approved, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long been his only refuge, the friend departs. Edwin left alone without the palace gate, full of sadness and perplexed thoughts, discerns about the dead of the night a man, neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after salutation asked him, "why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold stone?" Edwin not a little misdoubting who he might be, asked him again, "what his sitting within doors, or without, concerned him to know?" To whom he again, "Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, or what danger hangs over thee is to me unknown: but what would you promise to that man, whoever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald to the like?" "All that I am able," answered Edwin. And he, "What if the same man should promise to make you greater than any English king hath been before you?" "I should not doubt," quoth Edwin, "to be answerably grateful." "And what if to all this he would inform you," said the other, "in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your ancestors hath known? would you hearken to his counsel?" Edwin without stopping promised "he would." And the other laying his right hand on Edwin's head, "When this sign," saith he, "shall next

befal thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promised;" and with these words disappearing, he left Edwin much revived, but not less filled with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the friend who had been gone all this while to listen further what was like to be decreed of Edwin, comes back and joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the king's mind, though for awhile drawn aside, was now fully resolved not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all enemies, as he had promised. This was said to be the cause why Edwin admonished by the bishop of a sign which had befallen him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from heaven, to claim that promise of him which he perceived well was due to a divine power, that had assisted him in his troubles. To Paulinus therefore he makes answer, that the Christian belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief peers and counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptised. They therefore being asked in council what their opinion was concerning this new doctrine, and well perceiving which way the king inclined, every one thereafter shaped his reply. The chief priest, speaking first, discovered an old grudge he had against his gods, for advancing others in the king's favour above him their chief priest: another hiding his court compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choice of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answered all the rest of his sages, none openly dissenting from what was likely to be the king's creed: whereas the preaching of Paulinus could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon Edwin, renouncing heathenism, became Christian, and the pagan priest, offering himself freely to demolish the altars of his former gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. "With Edwin, his two sons Osfrid and Eanfrid, born to him by Quenburga, daughter, as saith Beda, of Kearle king of Mercia, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the people, both noble and commons, easily converted, were baptised; he with his whole family at York, in a church hastily built up of wood, the multitude most part in rivers.

[a] Post Christ. 627.

Northumberland thus christened, Paulinus crossing Humber, converted also the province of Lindsey, and Blecca the governor of Lincoln, with his household and most of that city; wherein he built a church of stone curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the roof in Beda's time, uncertain whether by neglect or enemies, was down, the walls only standing. Meanwhile in Mercia, Kearle, a kinsman of Wibba, saith Huntingdon, not a son, having long withheld the kingdom from Penda, Wibba's son, left it now at length in the fiftieth year of his age: with whom Kinegils and Cuichelm, the West-Saxon kings, two years after,[9] having by that time it seems recovered strength, since the inroad made upon them by Edwin, fought at Cirencester, then made truce. But Edwin seeking every way to propagate the faith, which with so much deliberation he had received, persuaded Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, king of East-Angles, to embrace the same belief;[1] willing or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the name only of a king. [2]But Eorpwald not long survived his conversion, slain in fight by Richert a pagan, whereby the people having lightly followed the religion of their king, as lightly fell back to their old superstitions for above three years after: Edwin in the mean while, to his faith adding virtue, by the due administration of justice wrought such peace over all his territories, that from sea to sea man or woman might have travelled in safety. His care also was of fountains by the way side to make them fittest for the use of travellers. And not unmindful of regal state, whether in war or in peace, he had a royal banner carried before him. But having reigned with much honour seventeen years, he was at length by Kedwallay or Cadwallon, king of the Britons, who with the aid of the Mercian Penda had rebelled against him, slain in a battle with his son Osrid, at a place called Hethfield, and his whole army overthrown or dispersed in the year six hundred and thirty three,[3] and the forty-seventh of his age, in the eye of man worthy a more peaceful end His head brought to York was there buried in the church by him begun Sad was this overthrow, both to church and state of the Northumbrians; for Penda being a heathen, and the British king, though in name a Christian, but in deeds more bloody than the pagan, nothing

[9] Post Christ. 629. Sax ann. [1] Post Christ. 632. Sax. ann.
[2] Florent. Genealog. [3] Post Christ. 633.

was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of sex or age; Kedwalla threatening to root out the whole nation, though then newly Christian. For the Britons, and, as Beda saith, even to his days, accounted Saxon Christianity no better than paganism, and with them held as little communion. From these calamities no refuge being left but flight, Paulinus taking with him Ethilburga the queen and her children, aided by Bassus, one of Edwin's captains, made escape by sea to Eadbald king of Kent: who receiving his sister with all kindness, made Paulinus bishop of Rochester, where he ended his days. After Edwin, the kingdom of Northumberland became divided as before, each rightful heir seizing his part; in Deira Osric, the son of Elfric, Edwin's uncle, by profession a Christian, and baptised by Paulinus: in Bernicia, Eanfrid the son of Ethelfrid; who all the time of Edwin, with his brother Oswald, and many of the young nobility, lived in Scotland exiled, and had been there taught and baptized. No sooner had they gotten each a kingdom, but both turned recreant, sliding back into their old religion: and both were the same year slain; Osric by a sudden eruption of Kedwalla, whom he in a strong town had unadvisably besieged, Eanfrid seeking peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendering himself. Kedwalla now ranged at will through both those provinces, using cruelly his conquest,[4] when Oswald the brother of Eanfrid with a small but Christian army unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroyed both him and his huge forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little river running into Tine, near the ancient Roman wall then called Denisburn, the place afterwards Heaven-field, from the cross reported miracles for cures, which Oswald there erected before the battle, in token of his faith against the great number of his enemies. Obtaining the kingdom he took care to instruct again the people in Christianity. Sending therefore to the Scottish elders, Beda so terms them, among whom he had received baptism, requested of them some faithful teacher, who might again settle religion in his realm, which the late troubles had much impaired, they, as readily hearkening to his request, send Aidan, a Scotch monk and bishop, but of singular zeal and meekness, with others to assist him, whom at their own desire he seated in Lindisfarne, as the episcopal

[4] Post Christ. 634.

seat, now Holy Island: and being the son of Ethelfrid by the sister of Edwin, as right heir, others failing, easily reduced both kingdoms of Northumberland as before into one; nor of Edwin's dominion lost any part, but enlarged it rather; over all the four British nations, Angles, Britons, Picts, and Scots, exercising regal authority. Of his devotion, humility, and almsdeeds, much is spoken, that he disdained not to be the interpreter of Aidan, preaching in Scotch or bad English, to his nobles and household servants; and had the poor continually served at his gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more ancient of private or of church-contribution is doubtless more evangelical. [4]About this time the West-Saxons, anciently called Gevissi, by the preaching of Berinus, a bishop, whom pope Honorius had sent, were converted to the faith with Kinegils their king: him Oswald received out of the font, and his daughter in marriage. The next year[5] Cuichelm was baptised in Dorchester, but lived not to the year's end. The East Angles also this year were reclaimed to the faith of Christ, which for some years past they had thrown off. But Sigbert the brother of Eorpwald now succeeded in that kingdom, praised for a most Christian and learned man: who while his brother yet reigned, living in France an exile, for some displeasure conceived against him by Redwald his father, learned there the Christian faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his people, by the preaching of Felix a Burgundian bishop.

In[6] the year six hundred and forty, Eadbold deceasing, left to Ercombert, his son by Emma the French king's daughter, the kingdom of Kent; recorded the first of English kings, who commanded through his limits the destroying of idols; laudably, if all idols without exception; and the first to have established Lent among us, under strict penalty; not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no Lent was observed here till his time by compulsion: especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurped upon his elder brother Ermenred,[7] whose right was precedent to the crown. Oswald having reigned eight years,[8] worthy also as might seem of longer

[4] Post Christ. 635, Sax. ann. [5] Post Christ. 636.
[6] Post. Christ. 640. [7] Mat. West. [8] Post Christ. 642.

life, fell into the same fate with Edwin, and from the same hand, in a great battle overcome and slain by Penda, at a place called Maserfield, now Oswestre in Shropshire,[0] miraculous, as saith Beda, after his death. His[1] brother Oswi succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty-eight years; opposed either by Penda, or his own son Alfred, or his brother's son Ethilwald. Next[2] year Kinegils the West Saxon king dying, left his son Kenwalk in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time Sigebert king of East-Angles having learnt in France, ere his coming to reign, the manner of their schools, with the assistance of some teachers out of Kent instituted a school here after the same discipline, thought to be the university of Cambridge, then first founded; and at length weary of his kingly office, betook him to a monastical life; commending the care of government to his kinsman Egric, who had sustained with him part of that burden before. It happened some years after, that Penda made war on the East-Angles: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought Sigebert, whom they esteemed an expert leader, with his presence to confirm the soldiery; and him refusing, carried by force out of the monastery into the camp; where acting the monk rather than the captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with Egric, and his whole army put to flight. Anna of the royal stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praise of a virtuous and most Christian prince. But[3] Kenwalk the West-Saxon having married the sister of Penda, and divorced her, was by him with more appearance of a just cause vanquished in fight, and deprived of his crown: whence retiring to Anna king of East-Angles, after three years abode in his court[4] he there became Christian, and afterwards regained his kingdom. Oswi in the former years of his reign had sharer with him Oswin, nephew of Edwin, who ruled in Deira seven years, commended much for his zeal in religion, and for comeliness of person, with other princely qualities, beloved of all. Notwithstanding which, dissensions growing between them, it came to arms. Oswin seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his army, to reserve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithful attendant to the loyalty of Hun-

[0] Camden. [1] Bed. l. 3. c. 14. [2] Post Christ. 643. Sax. an.
[3] Post Christ. 645. Sax. an. [4] Post Christ. 648.

wald an earl, his imagined friend, he was by him treacherously discovered, and by command of Oswi slain. [5]After whom within twelve days, and for grief of him whose death he foretold, died bishop Aidan, famous for his charity, meekness, and labour in the gospel. The fact of Osway was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a monastery was built in the place where it was done, and prayers there daily offered up for the souls of both kings, the slain and the slayer. Kenwalk, by this time re-installed in his kingdom, kept it long, but with various fortune; for Beda relates him ofttimes afflicted by his enemies,[6] with great losses: and in six hundred and fifty-two, by the annals, fought a battle (civil war Ethelwerd calls it) at Bradanford by the river Afene; against whom, and for what cause, or who had the victory, they write not. Camden names the place Bradford in Wiltshire, by the river Avon, and Cuthred his near kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no authority; certain it is, that Kenwalk four years before had given large possessions to his nephew Cuthred, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebelled

The next year[7] Peada, whom his father Penda, though a heathen, had for his princely virtues made prince of Middle Angles, belonging to the Mercians, was with that people converted to the faith. For coming to Oswi with request to have in marriage Alfleda his daughter, he was denied her, but on condition that he with all his people should receive Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preached to him of resurrection and eternal life, much persuaded also by Alfred the king's son, who had his sister Kymburg to wife, he easily assented, for the truth's sake only as he professed, whether he obtained the virgin or no, and was baptized with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four presbyters to teach the people of his province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did Penda, though himself no believer, prohibit any in his kingdom to hear or believe the gospel, but rather hated and despised those, who, professing to believe, attested not their faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despised, who obey not that God in whom they choose to believe. How well might Penda, this heathen, rise up in judgment against many

[5] Post Christ. 651. Bede. [6] Bed. l. 3. c. 7. Post Christ. 652
[7] Post Christ. 653.

pretended Christians, both of his own and these days! yet being a man bred up to war, (as no less were others then reigning, and ofttimes one against another, though both Christians,) he warred on Anna king of the [8]East Angles, perhaps without cause, for Anna was esteemed a just man, and at length slew him. About this time the East Saxons, who, as above hath been said, had expelled their bishop Mellitus, and renounced their faith, were by the means of Oswi thus reconverted. Sigebert, surnamed the small, being the son of Seward, without other memory of his reign, left his son king of that province, after him Sigebert the second, who coming often to visit Oswi his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from idolatry, and convinced at length to forsake it, was there baptized; on his return home taking with him Kedda a laborious preacher, afterwards made bishop; by whose teaching, with some help of others, the people were again recovered from misbelief. But Sigebert some years after, though standing fast in religion, was by the conspiracy of two brethren, in place near about him, wickedly murdered, who being asked, "What moved them to a deed so heinous?" gave no other than this barbarous answer; "That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his enemies, as to forgive them their injuries whenever they besought him." Yet his death seems to have happened not without some cause by him given of divine displeasure. For one of those earls who slew him, living in unlawful wedlock, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his house, much less to sit at meat with him, the king not regarding his church-censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his feet, touched with the rod in his hand, and angrily thus foretold: "Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the house of that excommunicate, in that house thou shalt die;" and so it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witness to his minister in the power of church-discipline, spiritually executed, not judicially on the contemner thereof. This year 655[9] proved fortunate to Oswi, and fatal to Penda; for Oswi by the continual inroads of Penda having long endured much devastation, to the endang-

[8] Post Christ. 654. Sax. an. [9] Post Christ. 655

ering once by assault and fire Bebbanburg,[1] the strongest city, now Bamborrow-castle, unable to resist him, with many rich presents offered to buy his peace, which not accepted by the pagan,[2] who intended nothing but destruction to that king, though more than once in affinity with him, turning gifts into vows, he implores divine assistance, devoting, if he were delivered from his enemy, a child of one year old, his daughter, to be a nun, and twelve portions of land whereon to build monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success than his proffered gifts; for hereupon with his son Alfred, gathering a small power, he encountered and discomfited the Mercians, thirty times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert captains,[3] at a place called Laydes, now Leeds, in Yorkshire. Besides this, Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, who ruled in Deira, took part with the Mercians; but in the fight withdrew his forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which unseasonable retreat, the Mercians, perhaps terrified and misdoubting more danger, fled; their commanders, with Penda himself, most being slain, among whom Edilhere the brother of Anna, who ruled after him the East-Angles, and was the author of this war; many more flying, were drowned in the river, which Beda calls Winwed, then swollen above its banks.[4] The death of Penda, who had been the death of so many good kings, made general rejoicing, as the song witnessed. At the river Winwed, Anna was avenged. To Edelhere succeeded Ethelwald his brother, in the East-Angles; to Sigebert in the East-Saxons, Suidhelm the son of Sexbald, saith Bede,[5] the brother of Sigebert, saith Malmsbury, he was baptized by Kedda, then residing in the East-Angles, and by Ethwald the king received out of the font. But Oswy, in the strength of his late victory, within[6] three years after subdued all Mercia, and of the Pictish nation greatest part, at which time he gave to Peada his son-in-law the kingdom of South-Mercia, divided from the Northern by Trent. But Peada the spring following, as was said, by the treason of his wife the daughter of Oswi, married by him for a special Christian, on the feast of Easter[7] not protected by the holy time, was slain. The Mercian nobles, Immin, Eaba,

[1] Bed. l. 3. c. 16. [2] Camden. [3] Camden. [4] Mat. West.
[5] Bed. l. 3. c. 22. [6] Post Christ. 658. Sax. ann.
[7] Post Christ. 659. Sax ann.

and Eadbert, throwing off the government of Oswi, set up Wulfer the other son of Penda to be their king, who till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian faith. Kenwalk the West-Saxon, now settled at home, and desirous to enlarge his dominion, prepares against the Britons, joins battle with them at Pen in Somersetshire, and overcoming, pursues them to Pedridan. Another fight he had with them before, at a place called Witgeornesburg, barely mentioned by the monk of Malmsbury. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance with Wulfer the son of Penda, his old enemy, scarce yet warm in his throne, fought with him at Possentesburgh, on the Easter holydays,[8] and as Ethelwerd saith, took him prisoner; but the Saxon annals, quite otherwise, that Wulfer, winning the field, wasted the West-Saxon country as far as Eskesdun: nor staying there, took and wasted the Isle of Wight, but causing the inhabitants to be baptized, till then unbelievers, gave the island to Ethelwald king of South-Saxons, whom he had received out of the font. The year[9] six hundred and sixty-four a synod of Scottish and English bishops, in the presence of Oswi and Alfred his son, was held at a monastery in those parts, to debate on what day Easter should be kept, a controversy which long before had disturbed the Greek and Latin churches: wherein the Scots not agreeing with the way of Rome; nor yielding to the disputants on that side, to whom the king most inclined, such as were bishops here, resigned, and returned home with their disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of crowns. The same year was seen an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a sore pestilence beginning in the South,[1] but spreading to the North and over all Ireland with great mortality. In which time the East-Saxons, after Swithelm's decease, being governed by Siger the son of Sigebert the small, and Sebbi of Seward, though both subject to the Mercians; Siger and his people unsteady of faith, supposing that this plague was come upon them for renouncing their old religion, fell off the second time to infidelity. Which the Mercian king Wulfer understanding, sent Jarumannus a faithful bishop, who with other his fellow-labourers, by sound doctrine and gentle dealing, soon recured them of their second relapse. In Kent,

[8] Post Christ. 661. Sax ann [9] Post Christ. 664. Bed. [1] Malms

Ercombert expiring, was succeeded by his son Ecbert. In whose fourth year,[2] by means of Theodore, a learned Greekish monk of Tarsus, whom pope Vitalian had ordained archbishop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongue, with other liberal arts, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the Saxons; as did also the whole land, under potent and religious kings, more than ever before, as Bede affirms, till his own days. Two years[3] after, in Northumberland died Oswi, much addicted to Romish rites, and resolved, had his disease released him, to have ended his days at Rome. Ecfrid, the eldest of his sons begot in wedlock, succeeded him. After other[4] three years, Ecbert in Kent deceasing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspicion to have slain or connived at the slaughter of his uncle's two sons, Elbert and Egelbright. In recompense whereof he gave to the[5] mother of them part of Tanet, wherein to build an abbey; the kingdom fell to his brother Lothair. And much about this time by best account it should be, however placed in Beda,[6] that Ecfrid of Northumberland, having war with the Mercian Wulfer, won from him Lindsey, and the country thereabout. Sebbi having reigned over the East-Saxons thirty years, not long before his death, though long before desiring, took on him the habit of a monk; and drew his wife at length, though unwilling, to the same devotion. Kenwalk also dying left the government to Sexburga his wife, who outlived him in it but one year, driven out, saith Mat. Westm. by the nobles disdaining female government. After[7] whom several petty kings, as Beda calls them, for ten years' space divided the West-Saxons; others name two, Escwin, the nephew of Kinegils, and Kentwin the son, not petty by their deeds:[8] for Escwin fought a battle with Wulfer,[9] at Bedanhafde, and about a year after both deceased; but Wulfer not without a stain left behind him of selling the bishopric of London to Wini; the first simonist we read of in this story: Kenwalk had before expelled him from his chair at Winchester. Ethelred, the brother of Wulfer, obtaining next the kingdom of Mercia, not only recovered Lindsey, and what

[2] Post Christ. 668 Sax. ann. [3] Post Christ. 670 Sax ann.
[4] Post Christ. 673 Sax. ann. [5] Malms [6] Bed. l. 4. c. 12
[7] Post Christ. 674. Bed. l. 4. c. 12. [8] Sax. ann. [9] Malms
Post Christ. 676.

besides in those parts Wulfer had lost to Ecfrid some years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his arms another way, as far as Kent, wasting that country without respect to church or monastery,[1] much also endamaging the city of Rochester, notwithstanding what resistance Lothair could make against him. In[2] August six hundred and seventy-eight was seen a morning comet for three months following, in manner of a fiery pillar. And the South-Saxons about this time were converted to the Christian faith, upon this occasion. Wilfrid bishop of the Northumbrians entering into contention with Ecfrid the king, was by him deprived of his bishoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as Rome,[3] returned at length into England; but not daring to approach the north, whence he was banished, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his ministry. The south of all other Saxons remained yet heathen; but Edwalk their king not long before had been baptized in Mercia, persuaded by Wulfur, and by him, as hath been said, received out of the font. For which relation's sake he had the Isle of Wight, and a province of the Meanuari adjoining given him on the continent about Meanesborow in Hantshire, which Wulfer had a little before gotten from Kenwalk. Thither Wilfrid takes his journey, and with the help of other spiritual labourers about him, in short time planted there the gospel. It had not rained, as is said, for three years before in that country, whence many of the people daily perished by famine; till on the first day of their public baptism, soft and plentiful showers descending restored all abundance to the summer following. Two[5] years after this, Kentwin the other West-Saxon king above named, chased the Welsh Britons, as is chronicled without circumstance, to the very sea-shore. But in the year, by Beda's reckoning, six hundred and eighty three,[6] Kedvalla a West-Saxon of the royal line, (whom the Welsh will have to be Cadwallader, last king of the Britons,) thrown out by faction, returned from banishment, and invaded both Kentwin, if then living, or whoever else had divided the succession of Kenwalk, slaying in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, who opposed him in their aid;[7] but soon after was repulsed by two of his captains, Bertune

[1] Bed. l. 4 c. 12. [2] Post Christ. 678. [3] Post Christ 679
[4] Bed. l. 4. c. 13. Camden. [5] Post Christ. 681. Sax. an. [6] Post Christ. 683. Sax. an. [7] Bed. l. 4 c. 15.

and Andune, who for a while held the province in their power.[8] But Kedwalla gathering new force, with the slaughter of Ber tune, and also of Edric the successor of Edelwalk, won the kingdom; but reduced the people to heavy thraldom.[9] Then addressing to conquer the Isle of Wight, till that time pagan, saith Beda, (others otherwise, as above hath been related,) made a vow, though himself yet unbaptized, to devote the south part of that island, and the spoils thereof, to holy uses. Conquest obtained, paying his vow as then was the belief, he gave his fourth to bishop Wilfrid, by chance there present; and he to Bertwin a priest, his sister's son, with commission to baptize all the vanquished, who meant to save their lives. But the two young sons of Arwald, king of that island, met with much more hostility: for they at the enemy's approach flying out of the isle, and betrayed where they were hid not far from thence, were led to Kedwaller, who lay then under cure of some wounds received, and by his appointment, after instruction and baptism first given them, harshly put to death, which the youths are said above their age to have christianly suffered. In Kent Lothair died this year of his wounds received in the fight against the South-Saxons, led on by Edric, who descending from Ermenred, it seems challenged the crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent death,[1] left the land exposed a prey either to homebred usurpers, or neighbouring invaders. Among whom Kedwalla, taking advantage from their civil distempers, and marching easily through the South-Saxons, whom he had subdued, sorely harassed the country, untouched for a long time by any hostile incursion. But the Kentish men, all parties uniting against a common enemy, with joint power so opposed him, that he was constrained to retire back; his brother Mollo in the flight, with twelve men in his company, seeking shelter in a house was beset, and therein burnt by the pursuers: Kedwalla much troubled at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered forces, returned fiercely upon the chasing enemy;[3] nor could he be got out of the province, till both by fire and sword he had avenged the death of his brother. At length Victred, the son of Ecbert, attaining the kingdom

[8] Malms. Post Christ. 684. [9] Bed. l. 4. c. 15. [1] Post Christ. 685. Malms. [2] Sax. an. Malms. [3] Post Christ. 686. [4] Post Christ. 687.

both settled at home all things in peace, and secured his borders from all outward hostility.[a] While thus Kedwalla disquieted both West and East, after his winning the crown, Ecfrid the Northumbrian, and Ethelred the Mercian, fought a sore battle by the river Trent; wherein Elfwin brother to Ecfrid, a youth of eighteen years, much beloved, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of blood, peace was happily made up by the grave exhortation of Archbishop Theodore, a pecuniary fine only paid to Ecfrid, as some satisfaction for the loss of his brother's life. Another adversity befel Ecfrid in his family, by means of Ethildrith his wife, king Anna's daughter, who having taken him for her husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelve years in the obstinate refusal of his bed, thereby thinking to live the purer life. So perversely then was chastity instructed against the apostle's rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veiled herself a nun, then made abbess of Ely, died seven years after the pestilence, and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken wedlock, though now canonized St. Audrey of Ely. In the mean while Ecfrid had sent Bertus with power to subdue Ireland, a harmless nation, saith Beda, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day; miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallowed or profane: they betook themselves partly to their weapons, partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtained it in their full avengement upon Ecfrid. For he the next year, against the mind and persuasion of his sagest friends, and especially of Cudbert a famous bishop of that age, marching unadvisedly against the Picts, who long before had been subject to Northumberland, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow straits overtopped with hills, and cut off with most of his army. From which time, saith Beda, military valour began among the Saxons to decay, not only the Picts till then peaceable, but some part of the Britons also recovered by arms their liberty for many years after. Yet Alfrid elder, but base brother to Ecfrid, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recalled from Ireland, to which place in his brother's reign he had retired, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour,

[a] Bede.

though in narrower bounds, the residue of his kingdom. Kedwalla having now with great disturbance of his neighbours reigned over the West-Saxons two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to Rome, desirous there to receive baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferred; and accordingly, on Easter-day, six hundred and eighty-nine,[6] he was baptized by Sergius the pope, and his name changed to Peter. All which notwithstanding, surprised with a disease, he outlived not the ceremony so far sought much above the space of five weeks, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the church of St. Peter was there buried, with a large epitaph upon his tomb. Him succeeded Ina of the royal family, and from the time of his coming in for many years oppressed the land with like grievances, as Kedwalla had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no bishop among them. His first expedition was into Kent, to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo: Victred, loth to hazard all, for the rash act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that could be found accessory, or as others say, pacified Ina with a great sum of money.[7] Meanwhile, at the incitement of Ecbert, a devout monk, Wilbrod, a priest eminent for learning, passed over sea, having twelve others in company, with intent to preach the gospel in Germany.[8] And coming to Pepin chief regent of the Franks, who a little before had conquered the hither Frisia, by his countenance and protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of conversion much the easier, and Wilbrod the first bishopric in that nation. But two priests, each of them Hewald by name, and for distinction surnamed from the colour of their hair, the black and the white, by his example piously affected to the souls of their countrymen the Old Saxons, at their coming hither to convert them, met with much worse entertainment. For in the house of a farmer, who had promised to convey them, as they desired, to the governour of that country, discovered by their daily ceremonies to be Christian priests, and the cause of their coming suspected, they were by him and his heathen neighbours cruelly butchered; yet not unavenged, for the governour enraged at such violence offered to the strangers, sending armed

[6] Post Christ. 689. [7] Malms. Sax. an. Ethelward.
[8] Post Christ. 694.

men slew all those inhabitants, and burnt their village. [9]After three years in Mercia, Ostrid the queen, wife to Ethelred, was killed by her own nobles, as Beda's epitome records; Florence calls them Southimbrians, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact.[1] And the year following, Bethred, a Northumbrian general, was slain by the Picts. [2]Ethelred, seven years after the violent death of his queen, put on the monk, and resigned his kingdom to Kenred the son of Wulfer his brother. [3]The next year Alfrid in Northumberland died, leaving Osrid a child of eight years to succeed him. [4]Four years after which, Kenred, having a while with praise governed the Mercian kingdom, went to Rome in the time of pope Constantine, and shorn a monk, spent there the residue of his days. Kelred succeeded him, the son of Ethelred, who had reigned the next before. With Kenred went Offa the son of Siger, king of the East-Saxons, and betook to him the same habit, leaving his wife and native country; a comely person, in the prime of his youth, much desired by the people; and such his virtue by report, as might have otherwise been worthy to have reigned. [5]Ina the West-Saxon one year after fought a battle, at first doubtful, at last successful, against Gerent king of Wales. [6]The next year Bertfrid, another Northumbrian captain, fought with the Picts, and slaughtered them, saith Huntingdon, to the full avengement of Ecfrid's death. [7]The fourth year after, Ina had another doubtful and cruel battle at Woodnesburgh in Wiltshire, with Kenred the Mercian, who died the year following a lamentable death: [8]for as he sat one day feasting with his nobles, suddenly possessed with an evil spirit, he expired in despair, as Boniface archbishop of Mentz, an Englishman, who taxes him for a defiler of nuns, writes by way of caution to Ethelbald his next of kin, who succeeded him. Osred also a young Northumbrian king, slain by his kindred in the eleventh of his reign for his vicious life and incest committed with nuns, was by Kenred succeeded and avenged, he reigning two years left Osric in his room. [9]In whose seventh year, if Beda calculate right, Victred king of Kent deceased, having reigned thirty-four years, and some part of them with

[9] Post Christ. 697. [1] Post Christ. 698. [2] Post Christ. 704.
[3] Post Christ. 705. [4] Post Christ. 709. [5] Post Christ. 710.
Sax. Annal. [6] Huntingd. Post Christ 711. [7] Bed. Epit. Post.
Christ. 715. [8] Sax. an Huntingd. Post Christ. 716. [9] Post Christ. 718

Suebbard, as Beda testifies [1] He left behind him three sons, Ethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric his heirs. [2]Three years after which appeared two comets about the sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the morning, the other after him in the evening, for the space of two weeks in January, bending their blaze toward the north; at which time the Saracens furiously invaded France, but were expelled soon after with great overthrow. The same year in Northumberland, Osric, dying or slain, adopted Kelwulf the brother of Kenred his successor, to whom Beda dedicates his story;[3] but writes this only of him, that the beginning and the process of his reign met with many adverse commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Meanwhile Ina, seven years before having slain Kenwulf, to whom Florent gives the addition of Clito, given usually to none but of the blood royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and slain Albright another Clito, driven from Taunton to the South-Saxons for aid, vanquished also the East-Angles in more than one battle, as Malmsbury writes, but not the year; whether to expiate so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, Malmsbury saith, at the persuasion of Ethelburga his wife, went to Rome, and there ended his days; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good laws, the first of Saxon that remain extant to this day, and to his kinsman Edelard bequeathed the crown, no less than the whole monarchy of England and Wales. For Ina, if we believe a digression in the laws of Edward confessor, was the first king crowned of English and British, since the Saxons' entrance; of the British by means of his second wife, some way related to Cadwallader last king of Wales, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. [4]After Ina, by a surer author, Ethelbald king of Mercia commanded all the provinces on this side Humber, with their kings: the Picts were in league with the English, the Scots peaceably within their bounds, and of the Britons part were in their own government, part subject to the English. In which peaceful state of the land, many in Northumberland, both nobles and commons, laying aside the exercise of arms, betook them to the cloister: and not content so to do at home, many in the days of Ina, clerks and

[1] L. 5. c. 9. Post Christ. 725.
[2] Post Christ. 728.
[3] Bed. l. 5. c. 24.
[4] Bede. Post Christ. 731.

laics, men and women, hasting to Rome in herds, thought themselves no where sure of eternal life till they were cloistered there. Thus representing the state of things in this island, Beda surceased to write. Out of whom chiefly has been gathered, since the Saxon's arrival, such as hath been delivered, a scattered story picked out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of visions and miracles; toward the latter end so bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a calendar rather than a history, taken up for the most part with succession of kings, and a computation of years, yet those hard to be reconciled with the Saxon annals. Their actions we read of were most commonly wars, but for what cause waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their strength and violence we understand, of their wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation; kings one after another leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads fondly into a monk's cowl; which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of Beda. Left only to obscure and blockish chronicles; whom Malmsbury, and Huntingdon, (for neither they nor we had better authors of those times,) ambitious to adorn the history, make no scruple ofttimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of their own; them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmsbury must be acknowledged, both for style and judgment, to be by far the best writer of them all: but what labour is to be endured turning over volumes of rubbish in the rest, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough of the things they register. This travail, rather than not to know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all their lifetime raking the foundations of old abbeys and

cathedrals. But to my task now as it befalls. [5]In the year seven hundred and thirty-three, on the eighteenth kalends of September, was an eclipse of the sun about the third hour of day, obscuring almost his whole orb as with a black shield. [6]Ethelbald of Mercia besieged and took the castle or town of [7]Somerton: and two years after Beda our historian died, some say the year before. [8]Kelwulf in Northumberland three years after became monk in Lindisfarne, yet none of the severest, for he brought those monks from milk and water to wine and ale; in which doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile, and well might, for Kelwulf brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of land, recited by Simeon, yet all under pretence of following (I use the author's words) poor Christ, by voluntary poverty: no marvel then if such applause were given by monkish writers to kings turning monks, and much cunning perhaps used to allure them. To Eadbert his uncle's son, he left the kingdom, whose brother Ecbert, archbishop of York, built a library there. But two years after,[9] while Eadbert was busied in war against the Picts, Ethelbald the Mercian, by foul fraud, assaulted part of Northumberland in his absence, as the supplement to Beda's epitome records. In the West-Saxons, Edelard, who succeeded Ina, having been much molested in the beginning of his reign, with the rebellion of Oswald his kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those troubles, died in peace seven hundred and forty one,[1] leaving Cuthred one of the same lineage to succeed him; who at first had much war with Ethelbald the Mercian, and various success, but joining with him in league two years after,[2] made war upon the Welsh; Huntingdon doubts not to give them a great victory. And[4] Simeon reports another battle fought between Britons and Picts the year ensuing. Now was the kingdom of East-Saxons drawing to a period, for Sigeard and Senfred the sons of Sebbi having reigned a while, and after them young Offa, who soon quitted his kingdom to go to Rome with Kenred, as hath been said, the government was conferred on Selred son of

[5] Post Christ. 733. Sax. an. [6] Ethelwerd. [7] Post Christ. 735. [8] Post Christ. 738 Malms. [9] Post Christ. 740. [1] Post Christ. 741 Malmsb. Sax. an. [2] Post Christ. 743. Sim. Dun. [3] Post Christ. 744. Hoved. Malms. Sax. an.

Sigebert the Good, who having ruled thirty-eight years,[4] came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom Swithred was the last king, driven out by Ecbert the West-Saxon; but London, with countries adjacent, obeyed the Mercians till they also were dissolved. Cuthred[5] had now reigned about nine years, when Kinric his son, a valiant young prince, was in a military tumult slain by his own soldiers. The same year Eadbert dying in Kent, his brother Edilbert reigned in his stead. But[6] after two years, the other Eadbert in Northumberland, whose war with the Picts hath been above mentioned, made now such progress there as to subdue Kyle, so saith the auctarie of Bede, and other countries thereabout, to his dominion; while Cuthred the West-Saxon had a fight with Ethelhun, one of his nobles, a stout warrior, envied by him in some matter of the commonwealth,[7] as far as by the Latin of Ethelwerd can be understood, (others interpret it sedition,) and with much ado overcoming, took Ethelhun for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully served in the twelfth or thirteenth of his reign, he encountered in a set battle with Ethelbald the Mercian at Beorford, now Burford in Oxfordshire, [8]one year after against the Welsh, which was the last but one of his life. Huntingdon, as his manner is to comment upon the annal text, makes a terrible description of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the prowess of Ethelhun, at Beorford, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal, and both in that and the latter conflict gives victory to Guthred; after whom Sigebert,[9] uncertain by what right his kinsman, saith Florent, stepped into the throne, whom, hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, Kinwulf, joining with most of the nobility, dispossessed of all but Hamshire; that province he lost also within a year,[1] together with the love of all those who till then remained his adherents, by slaying Cumbran, one of his chief captains, who for a long time had faithfully served, and now dissuaded him from incensing the people by such tyrannical practices. Thence[2] flying for safety into Andrew's wood, forsaken of all, he was at length slain by the swineherd of Cumbran in revenge of his master, and Kinwulf, who had

[4] Post Christ. 746. [5] Post Christ. 748 Sax. an. Huntingd. [6] Post Christ 750. [7] Huntingd. Post Christ. 752. Camd. [8] Post Christ. 753. [9] Sax. an. Post Christ. 754. Malms. [1] Post Christ. 755. [2] Huntingdon

the unfortunate end of Kinwulf the West-Saxon; who having laudably reigned about thirty one years, yet suspecting that Kineard, brother of Sigebert the former king, intended to usurp the crown after his decease, or revenge his brother's expulsion, had commanded him into banishment;[8] but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small company, having had intelligence that Kinwulf was in the country thereabout, at Merantun, or Merton, in Surrey, at the house of a woman whom he loved, went by night and beset the place. Kinwulf, over confident either of his royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with a few about him, runs fiercely at Kineard, and wounds him sore; but by his followers hemmed in, is killed among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the king's return, Osric and Wifert, two earls, hasted with a great number to the house, where Kineard and his fellows yet remained. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promises of great gifts attempted to appease them: but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hundred. Kinwulf was succeeded by Birthric, being both descended of Kerdic the founder of that kingdom.[9] Not better was the end of Elfwald in Northumberland, two years after slain miserably by the conspiracy of Siggan, one of his nobles, others say of the whole people at Scilcester by the Roman wall, yet undeservedly, as his sepulchre at Hagustald, now Hexam upon Tine, and some miracles there said to be done,[1] are alleged to witness, and Siggan five years after laid violent hands upon himself.[2] Osred son of Alcred advanced into the room of Elfwald, and within one year driven out, left his seat vacant to Ethelred son of Mollo, who after ten years of banishment[3] (imprisonment, saith Alcuin) had the sceptre put again into his hand. The third year of Birthric king of West-Saxons, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this land. For three Danish ships, the first that had been seen here of that nation, arriving in the west; to visit these, as was supposed, foreign merchants, the king's gatherer of customs taking horse from Dorchester, found them spies and

[8] Sax. an. Camd. [9] Post Christ. 788. Sim. Dun. Malms. [1] Camd. [2] Malms. [3] Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 789.

enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of their lading at the king's custom house, they slew him, and all that came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines, and hostilities, which they returned not long after to commit over all the island. [4]Of this Danish first arrival, and on a sudden worse than hostile aggression, the Danish history far otherwise relates, as if their landing had been at the mouth of Humber, and their spoilful march far into the country; though soon repelled by the inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to their ships: but from what cause, what reason of state, what authority or public council the invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that Sigefrid then king in Denmark, and long after, was a man studious more of peace and quiet than of warlike matters. These[5] therefore seem rather to have been some wanderers at sea, who with public commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of Christianity, seeking booties on any land of Christians, came by chance, or weather, on this shore. [6]The next year Osred in Northumberland, who driven out by his nobles had given place to Ethelred, was taken, and forcibly shaven a monk at York. [7]And the year after, Oeif and Oelfwin, sons of Elfwald, formerly king, were drawn by fair promises from the principal church of York, and after by command of Ethelred cruelly put to death at Wonwaldremere,[8] a village by the great pool in Lancashire, now called Winandermere. [9]Nor was the third year less bloody; for Osred, who, not liking a shaven crown, had desired banishment and obtained it, returning from the Isle of Man with small forces, at the secret but deceitful call of certain nobles, who by oath had promised to assist him, were also taken, and by Ethelred dealt with in the same manner: who, the better to avouch his cruelties, thereupon married Elfled the daughter of Offa; for in Offa was found as little faith or mercy. He the same year, having drawn to his palace Ethelbrite king of East-Angles, with fair invitations to marry his daughter, caused him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his kingdom wrongfully seized, by the wicked counsel of his wife, saith Mat. Westm. annexing thereto a long unlikely tale. For which

[4] Pontan. l. 3. [5] Ibid. l. 4. [6] Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 790.
[7] Post Christ. 791. Sim. Dun. [8] Camd. [9] Post Christ. 792. Sim. Dun. Eccles. l. 2

violence and bloodshed to make atonement, with friars at le
he bestows the relics of St. Alban in a shrine of pearl
gold. [1] Far worse it fared the next year with the relics
Lindisfarne, where the Danes landing pillaged that mon
tery; and of friars killed some, carried away others capti
sparing neither priest nor lay: which many strange thund
and fiery dragons, with other impressions in the air seen
quently before, were judged to foresignify. This year Al
third son of Victred ended in Kent his long reign of thir
four years; with him ended the reign of Hengist: thencefo
whomsoever wealth or faction advanced took on him the na
and state of king. The Saxon annals of seven hundred
eighty-four named Ealmund then reigning in Kent; but t
consists not with the time of Alric, and I find him no wh
else mentioned. The year following[2] was remarkable for
death of Offa the Mercian, a strenuous and subtile king;
had much intercourse with Charles the Great, at first enmi
to the interdicting of commerce on either side, at length m
amity and firm league, as appears by the letter of Charles h
self yet extant, procured by Alcuin a learned and prudent m
though a monk, whom the kings of England in those d
had sent orator into France, to maintain good correspond
between them and Charles the Great. He granted, s
Huntingdon, a perpetual tribute to the pope out of every ho
in his kingdom,[3] for yielding perhaps to translate the prim
of Canterbury to Litchfield in his own dominion. He d
a trench of wonderous length between Mercia and the Bri
confines from sea to sea. Ecferth the son of Offa, a prince
great hope, who also had been crowned nine years before
father's decease, restoring to the church what his father
seized on, yet within four months by sickness ended his reig
and to Kenulf, next in the right of the same progeny, bequeath
his kingdom. Meanwhile the Danish pirates, who still wa
Northumberland, venturing on shore to spoil another monast
at the mouth of the river Don, were assailed by the Engli
their chief captain slain on the place; then returning to
were most of them shipwrecked, others driven again on sh
were put all to the sword. Simeon attributes this their p
ishment to the power of St. Cuthbert, offended with them

[1] Post Christ. 793. Sim. Dun.
[2] Post Christ. 794. Malm
[3] Asser. Men. Sim Dun

the rifling his convent. [4]Two years after this died Ethelred, twice king, but not exempted at last from the fate of many of his predecessors, miserably slain by his people, some say deservedly, as not inconscious with them who trained Osred to his ruin. Osbald a nobleman exalted to the throne, and, in less than a month, deserted and expelled, was forced to fly from Lindisfarne by sea to the Pictish king, and died an abbot. Eadhulf, whom Ethelred six years before had commanded to be put to death at Rippon, before the abbey-gate, dead as was supposed, and with solemn dirge carried into the church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banished, now recalled, was in York created king. In Kent Ethelbert or Pren, whom the annals call Eadbright, (so different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming,) by some means having usurped regal power, after two years reign contending with Kenulf the Mercian, was by him taken prisoner, and soon after out of pious commiseration let go: but not received of his own, what became of him Malmsbury leaves in doubt. Simeon writes, that Kenulf commanded to put out his eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in Northumberland, who had conspired against Ethelred,[5] now also raising war against Eardulf, under Wada their chief captain, after much havoc on either side at Langho, by Whaley in Lancashire, the conspirators at last fleeing, Eardulf returned with victory. The same year London, with a great multitude of her inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consumed. The year eight hundred[6] made way for a great alteration in England, uniting her seven kingdoms into one, by Ecbert the famous West-Saxon; him Birthric dying childless left next to reign, the only surviver of that lineage, descending from Inegild the brother of king Ina. [7]And according to his birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing up in him; which Birthric fearing, and withal his juster title to the crown, secretly sought his life, and Ecbert perceiving, fled to Offa, the Mercian: but he having married Eadburga his daughter to Birthric, easily gave ear to his ambassadors coming to require

[4] Post Christ. 796 Sim. Dun.
[5] Post Christ 798. Sim. Dun.
[6] Post Christ 800.
[7] Malms.

Ecbert: [8]he, again put to his shifts, escaped thence in France; but after three years banishment there, which pe haps contributed much to his education, Charles the Gre then reigning, he was called over by the public voice, (f Birthric was newly dead,) and with general applause create king of West-Saxons. The same day Ethelmund at Kinner ford passing over with the Worcestershire men, was met b Weolstin another nobleman with those of Wiltshire, betwe whom happened a great fray, wherein the Wiltshire me overcame, but both dukes were slain, no reason of their qua rel written; such bickerings to recount, met often in the our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wa of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air? [9]Th year following, Eardulf the Northumbrian leading forth an arm against Kenwulf the Mercian for harbouring certain of h enemies, by the diligent meditation of other princes and pr lates, arms were laid aside, and amity soon sworn betwe them. [1]But Eadburga, the wife of Birthric, a woman eve way wicked, in malice especially cruel, could not or cared not appease the general hatred justly conceived against her; accu tomed in her husband's days to accuse any whom she spighted and not prevailing to his ruin, her practice was by poiso secretly to contrive his death. It fortuned, that the king h husband, lighting on a cup which she had tempered, not f him, but for one of his great favourites, whom she could n harm by accusing, sipped thereof only, and in a while afte still pining away, ended his days; the favourite, drinking deep found speedier the operation. She, fearing to be question for these facts, with what treasure she had, passed over sea Charles the Great, whom, with rich gifts coming to his p sence, the emperor courtly received with this pleasant propos "Choose, Eadburga, which of us two thou wilt, me or my son (for his son stood by him,) "to be thy husband." She, dissembler of what she liked best, made easy answer: "Were my choice, I should choose of the two your son rather, as t younger man.' To whom the emperor, between jest a earnest, "Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestowed on thee son; but since thou hast chosen him, thou shalt have neith him nor me.' [2] Nevertheless he assigned her a rich monaste

[8] Sax. an. [9] Post Christ. 801. Sim. Dun. [1] Malms. l. 2. An
[2] Post Christ. 802. Sim Dun.

to dwell in as abbess; for that life it may seem she chose next to profess: but being a while after detected of unchastity with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence: from that time wandering poorly up and down with one servant, in Pavia, a city of Italy, she finished at last in beggary her shameful life. In the year eight hundred and five[2] Cuthred, whom Kenulf the Mercian had, instead of Pren, made king in Kent, having obscurely reigned eight years, deceased. In Northumberland, Eardulf the year following was driven out of his realm by Alfwold,[3] who reigned two years in his room; after whom Eandred son of Eardulf thirty-three years; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better authors: much less that which Buchanan relates, the year following,[4] of Achaius king of Scots, who having reigned thirty-two years, and dying in eight hundred and nine,[5] had formerly aided (but in what year of his reign tells not) Hungus king of Picts with ten thousand Scots, against Athelstan a Saxon or Englishman, then wasting the Pictish borders; that Hungus by the aid of those Scots, and the help of St. Andrew their patron, in a vision by night, and the appearance of his cross by day, routed the astonished English, and slew Athelstan in fight. Who this Athelstan was, I believe no man knows; Buchanan supposes him to have been some Danish commander, on whom king Alured or Alfred had bestowed Northumberland; but of this I find no footstep in our ancient writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of Alfred, it must be little less than an hundred years after: this Athelstan therefore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have been the fancy of some legend than any warrantable record. [6]Meanwhile Ecbert having with much prudence, justice, and clemency, a work of more than one year, established his kingdom and himself in the affections of his people, turns his first enterprise against the Britons, both them of Cornwall and those beyond Severn, subduing both. In Mercia, Kenulf, the sixth year after,[7] having reigned with great praise of his religious mind and virtues both in peace and war, deceased. His son Kenelm, a child of seven years, was committed to the care of his elder sister Quendrid: who, with

[2] Post Christ. 805. Malms. Sax. an. [3] Post Christ. 806. Huntingd. Sim Dun. [4] Post Christ. 808. Mat. West. [5] Post. Christ. 809. [6] Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 813. Sax. an. [7] Post Christ. 819. Sax. an.

a female ambition aspiring to the crown, hired one who had the charge of his nurture to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. [9]The murder, as it is reported, was miraculously revealed; but to tell how, by a dove dropping a written note on the altar at Rome, is a long story, told, though out of order, by Malmsbury, and under the year eight hundred and twenty-one by Mat. West, where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my readers. Only the note was to this purpose:

> Low in a mead of kine under a thorn,
> Of head bereft, lieth poor Kenelm kingborn.

Keolwulf, the brother of Kenulf, after one year's reign, was driven out by one Bernulf an usurper;[1] who in his third year,[2] uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by Ecbert, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at Ellandune or Wilton: yet Malmsbury accounts this battle fought in eight hundred and six, a wide difference, but frequently found in their computations. Bernulf thence retiring to the East-Angles, as part of his dominion by the late seizure of Offa, was by them met in the field and slain: but they, doubting what the Mercians might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both king and people to the sovereignty of Ecbert. As for the kings of East-Angles, our annals mention them not since Ethelwald; him succeeded his brother's sons,[3] as we find in Malmsbury, Aldulf (a good king, well acquainted with Bede) and Elwold who left the kingdom to Beorn, he to Ethelred the father of Ethelbrite, whom Offa perfidiously put to death. Simeon and Hoveden, in the year seven hundred and forty nine, write that Elfwald king of East-Angles dying, Humbeanna and Albert shared the kingdom between them; but where to insert this among the former succession is not easy, nor much material: after Ethelbrite, none is named of that kingdom till their submitting now to Ecbert: he from this victory against Bernulf sent part of his army under Ethelwulf his son, with Alstan bishop of Shirburn, and Wulferd a chief commander, into Kent. Who, finding Baldred there reigning in his eighteenth year, overcame and drove him over the Thames, whereupon all Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and lastly Essex, with her king

[9] Malms. [1] Post Christ 820 Ingulf. Sax. an. [2] Post Christ. 823. [3] Florent. Genealog. Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

Swithred, became subject to the dominion of Ecbert. Neither were these all his exploits of this year; the first in order set down in Saxon annals being his fight against the Devonshire Welsh, at a place called Gafulford, now Camelford in Cornwall. [4]Ludiken the Mercian, after two years preparing to avenge Bernulf his kinsman on the East-Angles, was by them with his five consuls, as the annals call them, surprised and put to the sword: and Withlaf his successor first vanquished, then upon submission, with all Mercia, made tributary to Ecbert. Meanwhile the Northumbrian kingdom of itself was fallen to shivers; their kings one after another so often slain by the people, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the sceptre, which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read,) for the space of thirty-three years after the death of Ethelred son of Mollo, as Malmsbury writes, there was no king: many noblemen and prelates were fled the country. Which misrule among them the Danes having understood, ofttimes from their ships entering far into the land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, wasting towns, churches, and monasteries, for they were yet heathen: the Lent before whose coming, on the north side of St. Peter's church in York was seen from the roof to rain blood. The causes of these calamities, and the ruin of that kingdom, Alcuin, a learned monk living in those days, attributes in several epistles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the death of Beda, and of Ecbert the archbishop, their neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of their priests and nuns, discovering their vain and wanton minds. Examples are also read, even in Beda's days, of their wanton deeds: thence altars defiled with perjuries, cloisters violated with adulteries, the land polluted with the blood of their princes, civil dissensions among the people; and finally, all the same vices which Gildas alleged of old to have ruined the Britons. In this estate Ecbert, who had now conquered all the south, finding them in the year eight hundred and twenty-seven,[5] (for he was marched thither with an army to complete his conquest of the whole island), no wonder if they submitted themselves to the yoke without resistance,

[4] Camd. Post Christ. 825. Ingulf. [5] Post Christ. 827.

Eandred their king becoming tributary. [6]Thence turning his forces, the year following he subdued more thoroughly what remained of North-Wales.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE sum of things in this island, or the best part thereof, reduced now under the power of one man, and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good authors, was by none attained at any time here before, unless in fables; men might with some reason have expected from such union, peace and plenty, greatness, and the flourishing of all estates and degrees; but far the contrary fell out soon after, invasion, spoil, desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce nation; Danes commonly called, and sometimes Dacians by others, the same with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themselves were at first reputed, and much more: for the Saxons first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovoked, came only to destroy.[7] But if the Saxons, as is above related, came most of them from Jutland and Anglen, a part of Denmark, as Danish writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the same; then in this invasion, Danes drove out Danes, their own posterity. And Normans afterwards none but ancienter Normans.[8] Which invasion perhaps, had the heptarchy stood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each prince and people, excited by their nearest concernments, had more industriously defended their own bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed governor, sent ofttimes from the remote residence of a secure monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser kingdoms revolting from the West-Saxon yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concerned for their own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they sought to repel the danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it. God hath purposed to punish our instruments' punishers, though now Christians,

[6] Post Christ. 828. Mat. West [7] Calvisius. [8] Pontan. Hist. Dan.

by other heathen, according to his divine retaliation, invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britons were at their rival, broken with luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of arms, and the study of all virtuous knowledge, some betook them to overworldly or vicious practice, others to religious idleness and solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive visions; easily perceived such by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the gospel, or utterly forbidden, ceremonies, relics, monasteries, masses, idols; add to these ostentation of alms, got ofttimes by rapine and oppression, or intermixed with violent and lustful deeds, sometimes prodigally bestowed as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when religion itself grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shows of purity were impured?

ECBERT.

Ecbert in full height of glory, having now enjoyed his conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious army long since disbanded, and the exercise of arms perhaps laid aside: the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of Danes from the sea, who landing in the [2]thirty-second of his reign, wasted Shepey in Kent. Ecbert the next year,[1] gathering an army, for he had heard of their arrival in thirty-five ships, gave them battle by the river Carr in Dorsetshire; the event whereof was, that the Danes kept their ground, and encamped where the field was fought; two Saxon leaders, Dudda and Osmund, and two bishops, as some say, were there slain. This was the only check of fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time received. For the Danes returning two years[3] after with a great navy, and joining forces with the Cornish, who had entered league with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these invasions against Ecbert the Danish history is not silent; whether out of their own records or ours may be justly doubted: for of these times at home I find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to outlandish chronicles, than any records of their own. The victor Ecbert, as one

[2] Post Christ. 832. Sax. annal. [1] Post Christ. 833. Sax. an.
[3] Post Christ. 835. Sax. an. Pontan. Hist. Dan. l. 4.

who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next[3] year with glory ended his days, and was buried at Winchester.

ETHELWOLF.

Ethelwolf the son of Ecbert succeeded, by Malmsbury described a man of mild nature, not inclined to war, or delighted with much dominion, that therefore contented with the ancient West-Saxon bounds, he gave to Ethelstan his brother, or son, as some write, the kingdom of Kent and Essex. [4]But the Saxon annalist, whose authority is elder, saith plainly, that both these countries and Sussex were bequeathed to Ethelstan by Ecbert his father. The unwarlike disposition of Ethelwolf gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the Danes, who came again the next year with thirty-three ships;[5] but Wulfherd, one of the king's chief captains, drove them back at Southampton with great slaughter, himself dying the same year, of age, as I suppose, for he seems to have been one of Ecbert's old commanders, who was sent with Ethelwolf to subdue Kent. Ethelhelm, another of the king's captains, with the Dorsetshire men, had at first like success against the Danes at Portsmouth; but they reinforcing stood their ground, and put the English to rout. Worse was the success of earl Herebert at a place called Mereswar, slain with the most part of his army. [6]The year following in Lindsey also, East-Angles, and Kent, much mischief was done by their landing;[7] where the next year, emboldened by success, they came on as far as Canterbury, Rochester, and London itself, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respite to the peaceable mind of Ethelwolf, they yet returned with the next year[8] in thirty-five ships, fought with him, as before with his father at the river Carr, and made good their ground. In Northumberland, Eandred the tributary king deceasing left the same tenure to his son, Ethelred, driven out in his fourth year,[9] and succeeded by Readwulf, who soon after his coronation hasting forth to battle against the Danes at Alvetheli,

[3] Post Christ. 826. Sax. an. [4] Mat West. [5] Post Christ. 837 Sax. an. [6] Post Christ. 838. Sax. an. [7] Post Christ. 839. Sax. an. [8] Post Christ. 840. Sax an. Sim. Dun. Mat. West. [9] Post Christ. 844.

[illegible]

[illegible] Thames [illegible] Canterbury [illegible] London [illegible] Ethelwerd [illegible] Bertulf [illegible] Wiblad [illegible] Thames [illegible] Surrey and the West Saxons, and meeting there with king Ethelwolf and Ethelbald his son, at a place called Ak Lea, or Oke Lea, they received a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This was counted a lucky year[4] to England, and brought to Ethelwolf great reputation. Burned therefore, who after Bertulf held of him the Mercian kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid against the North Welsh, as then troublesome to his confines, obtained it of him in person, and thereby reduced them to obedience. This done, Ethelwolf sent his son Alfred, a child of five years, well accompanied to Rome, whom Leo the pope both consecrated to be king afterwards, and adopted to be his son; at home

[1] Post Christ. [illegible] Sax. an.
[2] Post Christ. 851. Sax. an. Asser.
[3] Huntingd. Mir. West.
[4] Post Christ. 851. Sax. an. Asser.

Ealker with the forces of Kent, and Huda with those of Surrey, fell on the Danes at their landing in Tanet, and at first put them back; but the slain and drowned were at length so many on either side, as left the loss equal on both: which yet hindered not the solemnity of a marriage at the feast of Easter, between Burhed the Mercian, and Ethelswida, king Ethelwolf's daughter. Howbeit the Danes next year[5] wintered again in Shepey. Whom Ethelwolf, not finding human health sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of divine aid, registered in a book and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole kingdom, eased of all impositions, but converted to the maintenance of masses and psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of Ethelwolf and his captains, as it appears at large by the patent itself, in William of Malmsbury. Asser saith, he did it for the redemption of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors. After which, as having done some great matter to shew himself at Rome, and be applauded of the pope: he takes a long and cumbersome journey thither with young Alfred again,[6] and there stays a year, when his place required him rather here in the field against pagan enemies left wintering in his land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no monk; and in his way home took to wife Judith daughter to Charles the Bald, king of France.[7] But ere his return, Ethelbald his eldest son, Alstan his trusty bishop, and Enulf earl of Somerset conspired against him: their complaints were, that he had taken with him Alfred his youngest son to be there inaugurated king, and brought home with him an outlandish wife; for which they endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than war. but the king abhorring civil discord, after many conferences tending to peace, condescended to divide the kingdom with his son: division was made, but the matter so carried, that the eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the father; the western and best given to the son: at which many of the nobles had great indignation, offering to the king their utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assigned. In the East-Angles, Edmund lineal from the ancient

[5] Malms. Post Christ. 854. Sax. an. [6] Post Christ. 855. Asser
[7] Asser

stock of those kings, a youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all but his own crowned at Bury. About this time, as Buchanan relates,[h] the Picts, who not long before had by the Scots been driven out of their country, part of them coming to Osbert and Ella, then kings of Northumberland, obtained aid against Donaldus the Scottish king, to recover their ancient possession. Osbert, who in person undertook the expedition, marching into Scotland, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the Scots, oversecure of their supposed victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took prisoner their king, and pursued his victory beyond Stirling bridge. The Scots unable to resist longer, and by ambassadors entreating peace, had it granted them on these conditions: the Scots were to quit all they had possessed within the wall of Severus: the limits of Scotland were beneath Stirling bridge to be the river Forth, and on the other side, Dunbritton Frith; from that time so called of the British then seated in Cumberland, who had joined with Osbert in this action, and so far extended on that side the British limits. If this be true, as the Scots writers themselves witness, (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of their own country?) how much wanting have been our historians to their country's honour, in letting pass unmentioned an exploit so memorable, by them remembered and attested, who are wont oftener to extenuate than to amplify aught done in Scotland by the English; Donaldus, on these conditions released, soon after dies, according to Buchanan, in 858. Ethelwolf, chief king in England, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his father at Winchester.[g] He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; so that in his father's time he was ordained bishop of Winchester, and unwillingly, for want of other legitimate issue, succeeded him in the throne; managing therefore his greatest affairs by the activity of two bishops, Alstan of Sherburne, and Swithine of Winchester. But Alstan is noted of covetousness and oppression, by William of Malmsbury;[1] the more vehemently no doubt for doing some notable damage to that monastery. The same author writes,[2] that Ethelwolf at Rome paid a tribute to the pope, continued to his days. How-

[h] Post Christ. 857. [g] Mat. West. [1] Malms. Swithine.
[2] Sigon. de regn. Ital. l. 5.

ever he were facile to his son, and seditious nobles, in yielding up part of his kingdom, yet his queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeased. [3]The West-Saxons had decreed ever since the time of Eadburga, the infamous wife of Birthric, that no queen should sit in state with the king, or be dignified with the title of queen. But Ethelwolf permitted not that Judith his queen should lose any point of regal state by that law. At his death he divided the kingdom between his two sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert, to the younger Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, to the elder all the rest; to Peter and Paul certain revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his pedigree, from son to father, up to Adam.

ETHELBALD and ETHELBERT.

ETHELBALD, unnatural and disloyal to his father,[4] fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love for his father's wife; and whom at first he opposed coming into the land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his bed; but not long enjoying died at three years end,[5] without doing aught more worthy to be remembered; having reigned two years with his father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested with the Danes; not of divine favour doubtless, but to his greater condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. Huntingdon on the other side much praises Ethelbald, and writes him buried at Sherburn, with great sorrow of the people, who missed him long after. Mat. Westm. saith, that he repented of his incest with Judith, and dismissed her: but Asser, an eyewitness of those times, mentions no such thing.

ETHELBERT alone.

ETHELBALD by death removed, the whole kingdom came rightfully to Ethelbert his next brother. Who, though a prince of great virtue and no blame, had as short a reign allotted to him as his faulty brother, nor that so peaceful; once or twice invaded by the Danes. But they having landed in

[3] Asser. [4] Asser. Malms. Sims. Dun. [5] Post Christ. 860. Sax an

the west with a great army, and sacked Winchester, were met by Osric earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf of Berkshire, beaten to their ships, and forced to leave their booty. Five years after,[6] about the time of his death, they set foot again in Tanet; the Kentishmen, wearied out with so frequent alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain sum of money; but ere the peace could be ratified, and the money gathered, the Danes, impatient of delay, by a sudden eruption in the night soon wasted all the East of Kent. Meanwhile, or something before, Ethelbert deceasing, was buried as his brother at Sherburn.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred, the third son of Ethelwolf, at his first coming to the crown was entertained with a fresh invasion of Danes,[8] led by Hinguar and Hubba, two brothers, who now had got footing among the East Angles; there they wintered, and coming to terms of peace with the inhabitants furnished themselves of horses, forming by that means many troops with riders of their own: these pagans, Asser saith, came from the river Danubius. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventured the next year[8] to make their way over land and over Humber as far as York: them they found to their hands embroiled in civil dissensions; their king Osbert they had thrown out, and Ella leader of another faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonished by their common danger, towards the year's end with united powers made head against the Danes and prevailed; but pursuing them over-eagerly into York, then but slenderly walled,[9] the Northumbrians were every where slaughtered, both within and without; their kings also both slain, their city burnt, saith Malmsbury, the rest as they could made their peace, overrun and vanquished as far as the river Tine, and Egbert of English race appointed king over them. Bromton, no ancient author, (for he wrote since Mat. West.) nor of much credit, writes a particular cause of the Danes coming to York; that Bruern a nobleman, whose wife king Osbert had ravished, called in Hinguar and Hubba to revenge him. The example is remarkable, if the truth

[6] Post Christ. 865. Sax. an.
[7] Post Christ. 866. Sax. an. Huntingd.
[8] Post Christ. 867. Sax. an.
[9] Asser.

were as evident. Thence victorious, the Danes next year[1] entered into Mercia towards Nottingham, where they spent the winter. Burhed then king of that country, unable to resist, implores the aid of Ethelred and young Alfred his brother; they assembling their forces and joining with the Mercians about Nottingham, offer battle: [2]the Danes, not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that town and castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the Mercians, weary of long suspense, entered into conditions of peace with their enemies. After which the Danes, returning back to York, made their abode there the space of one year,[3] committing, some say, many cruelties. Thence embarking to Lindsey, and all the summer destroying that country, about September[4] they came with like fury into Kesteven, another part of Lincolnshire; where Algar, the earl of Howland, now Holland, with his forces, and two hundred stout soldiers belonging to the abbey of Croiland, three hundred from about Boston, Morcard lord of Brunne, with his numerous family, well trained and armed, Osgot governor of Lincoln with five hundred of that city, all joining together, gave battle to the Danes, slew of them a great multitude, with three of their kings, and pursued the rest to their tents; but the night following, Gothrun, Baseg, Osketil, Halfden, and Hamond, five kings, and as many earls, Frena, Hinguar, Hubba, Sidroc the elder and younger, coming in from several parts with great forces and spoils, great part of the English began to slink home. Nevertheless Algar with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of battle facing the Danes, and sustaining unmoved the brunt of their assaults, could not withhold his men at last from pursuing their counterfeited flight, whereby opened and disordered, they fell into the snare of their enemies, rushing back upon them. Algar and those captains forenamed with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill side, and slaying of such as followed them, manifold their own number, died at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The Danes, thence passing on into the country of East-Angles, rifled and burnt the monastery of Ely, overthrew earl Wulketul with his whole army, and lodged out the winter at Thetford: where king Edmond assailing them, was with his whole army

[1] Post Christ. 868. [2] Asser. [3] Post Christ. 869. Sim. Dun. [4] Post Christ. 870. Ingulf.

put to flight, himself taken, bound to a stake, and shot to death with arrows, his whole country subdued. The next year[5] with great supplies, saith Huntingdon, bending their march toward the West-Saxons, the only people now left in whom might seem yet to remain strength or courage likely to oppose them, they came to Reading, fortified there between the two rivers of Thames and Kenet, and about three days after sent out wings of horse under two earls to forage the country;[6] but Ethelwolf earl of Berkshire, at Englefield a village nigh, encountered them, slew one of their earls, and obtained a great victory. Four days after came the king himself and his brother Alfred with the main battle; and the Danes issuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either side great slaughter, in which earl Ethelwolf lost his life; but the Danes, losing no ground, kept their place of standing to the end. Neither did the English for this make less haste to another conflict at Escesdune or Ashdown, four days after, where both armies with their whole force on either side met. The Danes were embattled in two great bodies, the one led by Bascai and Halfden, their two kings, the other by such earls as were appointed; in like manner the English divided their powers, Ethelred the king stood against their kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the battle from his orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherein Bascai (the Danish history names him Ivarus the son of Regnerus) was slain. Alfred was placed against the earls, and beginning the battle ere his brother came into the field, with such resolution charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are named Sidroc elder and younger, Osbern Frean, Harald; at length in both divisions the Danes turn their backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest pursued till night. So much the more it may be wondered to hear next in the annals, that the Danes, fourteen days after such an overthrow fighting again with Ethelred and his brother Alfred at Basing, (under conduct, saith the Danish history, of Agnerus and Hubbo, brothers of the slain Ivarus,) should obtain the victory; especially since the new supply of Danes mentioned by Asser[7] arrived after this action. But after two months, the king and his brother fought with them at Mertun, in two squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who had the

[5] Post Christ. 871. Sax. an. [6] Asser. [7] Pontan. Hist. Dan. l. 4.

better; so darkly do the Saxon annals deliver their meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for Asser is here silent) to be the chief fountain of our story, the ground and basis upon which the monks later in time gloss and comment at their pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the Saxon part, not Heamund the bishop only, but many valiant men lost their lives. This fight[8] was followed by a heavy summer plague; whereof, as is thought, king Ethelred died in the fifth year of his reign, and was buried at Winburn, where his epitaph inscribes that he had his death's wound by the Danes, according to the Danish history 872. Of all these terrible landings and devastations by the Danes, from the days of Ethelwolf till their two last battles with Ethelred, or of their leaders, whether kings, dukes, or earls, the Danish history of best credit saith nothing; so little wit or conscience it seems they had to leave any memory of their brutish rather than manly actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of Asser, from Danubius, rather than from Denmark, more probably some barbarous nation of Prussia, or Livonia, not long before seated more northward on the Baltic sea.

ALFRED.

ALFRED, the fourth son of Ethelwolf, had scarce performed his brother's obsequies, and the solemnity of his own crowning, when at the month's end in haste with a small power he encountered the whole army of Danes at Wilton, and most part of the day foiled them, but unwarily following the chase gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained masters of the field. This year, as is affirmed in the annals, nine battles had been fought against the Danes on the south side of Thames, besides innumerable excursions made by Alfred and other leaders; one king, nine earls were fallen in fight, so that weary on both sides at the year's end, league or truce was concluded. Yet next year[9] the Danes took their march to London, now exposed to their prey; there they wintered, and thither came the Mercians to renew peace with them. The year following they roved back to the parts beyond Humber, but wintered at

[8] Camden. [9] Post Christ. 872 Sax. an

Torksey in Lincolnshire, where the Merciana now the third time made peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing their camp to Rependune in Mercia,[1] now Repton upon Trent in Derbyshire, and there wintering, they constrained Burhed the king to fly into foreign parts, making seizure of his kingdom; he running the direct way to Rome,[2] (with better reason than his ancestors,) died there, and was buried in a church by the English school. His kingdom the Danes farmed out to Kelwulf, one of his household servants or officers, with condition to be resigned them when they commanded. [3]From Rependune they dislodged, Hafden their king leading part of his army northward, wintered by the river Tine, and subjecting all those quarters, wasted also the Picts and British beyond: but Guthrun, Oskitell, and Anwynd, other three of their kings, moving from Rependune, came with a great army to Grantbrig, and remained there a whole year. But Alfred that summer proposing to try his fortune with a fleet at sea, (for he had found that the want of shipping and neglect of navigation had exposed the land to these piracies,) met with seven Danish rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the English at that time were but little experienced in sea-affairs. The next[4] year's first motion of the Danes was towards Warham Castle, where Alfred meeting them, either by policy, or their doubt of his power, Ethelwerd saith, by money brought them to such terms of peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallowed bracelet, others say upon certain[5] relics, (a solemn oath it seems, which they never vouchsafed before to any other nation,) forthwith to depart the land. but falsifying that oath, by night with all the horse they had (Asser saith,[6] slaying all the horsemen he had) stole to Exeter, and there wintered. In Northumberland, Hafden their king began to settle, to divide the land, to till, and to inhabit. Meanwhile they in the west, who were marched to Exeter, entered the city, coursing now and then to Warham; but their fleet the next[7] year, sailing or rowing about the west, met with such a tempest near to Swanswich or Gnavewic, as wrecked one hundred and twenty of their ships, and left the rest easy to be mastered by those

[1] Post Christ 873 Sax. an. Canid. [2] Post Christ. 874. Sax. an. [3] Post Christ. 875, Sax an. [4] Post Christ. 876 Sax. an. [5] Florent. [6] Florent. [7] Post Christ 877. Sax. an.

galleys, which Alfred had set there to guard the seas, and straiten Exeter of provision. He the while beleaguering[2] them in the city, now humbled with the loss of their navy, (two navies, saith Asser, the one at Gnavewic, the other at Swanwine,) distressed them so, as that they gave him as many hostages as he required, and as many oaths, to keep their covenanted peace, and kept it. For the summer coming on they departed into Mercia, whereof part they divided among themselves, part left to Kelwulf their substituted king. The twelfthtide following,[3] all oaths forgotten, they came to Chippenham in Wiltshire, dispeopling the countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the sea; Alfred himself with a small company was forced to keep within woods and fenny places, and for some time all alone, as Florent saith, sojourned with Dunwulf a swineherd, made afterwards for his devotion and aptness to learning bishop of Winchester. Hasden and the brother of Hinguar[1] coming with twenty-three ships from North Wales, where they had made a great spoil, landed in Devonshire, nigh to a strong castle named Kinwith; where, by the garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with twelve hundred of their men.[2] Meanwhile the king about Easter, not despairing of his affairs, built a fortress at a place called Athelney in Somersetshire, therein valiantly defending himself and his followers, frequently sallying forth. The seventh week after he rode out to a place called Ecbrytstone, in the east part of Selwood: thither resorted to him with much gratulation the Somerset and Wiltshire men, with many out of Hampshire, some of whom a little before had fled their country; with these marching to Ethandune, now Edindon in Wiltshire, he gave battle to the whole Danish power, and put them to flight.[3] Then besieging their castle, within fourteen days took it. Malmsbury writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the Danish camp, he took upon him with one servant the habit of a fiddler; by this means gaining access to the king's table, and sometimes to his bed-chamber; got knowledge of their secrets, their careless encamping, and thereby thus opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The Danes, by this misfortune broken, gave him more hostages, and renewed their oaths to depart out of his kingdom. Their king

[a] Asser. [b] Post Christ. 878. [1] Sim. Dun. [2] Asser. [3] Camden. [4] Camden.

Gytro or Gothrun offered willingly to receive baptism,[5] and accordingly came with thirty of his friends to a place called Aldra or Aulre, near to Athelney, and were baptised at Wedmore; where Alfred received him out of the font, and named him Athelstan. After which they abode with him twelve days, and were dismissed with rich presents. Whereupon the Danes removed next[6] year to Cirencester, thence peaceably to the East-Angles; which Alfred, as some write, had bestowed on Gothrun to hold of him, the bounds whereof may be read among the laws of Alfred. Others of them went to Fulham on the Thames, and joining there with a great fleet newly come into the river, thence passed over into France and Flanders, both which they entered so far conquering or wasting, as witnessed sufficiently, that the French and Flemish were no more able than the English, by policy or prowess, to keep off that Danish inundation from their land.[7] Alfred thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their landing: three years after (quiet the mean while) with more ships and better provided puts to sea, and at first met with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the men overboard, then with two others, wherein two were of their princes, and took them also, but not without some loss of his own. [8]After three years another fleet of them appeared on these seas, so huge that one part of them thought themselves sufficient to enter upon East-France, the other came to Rochester, and beleaguered it; they within stoutly defending themselves, till Alfred with great forces, coming down upon the Danes, drove them to their ships, leaving for haste all their horses behind them.[9] The same year Alfred sent a fleet toward the East-Angles, then inhabited by the Danes, which, at the mouth of Stour, meeting with sixteen Danish ships, after some fight took them all, and slew all the soldiers on board; but in their way home lying careless, were overtaken by another part of that fleet, and came off with loss: whereupon perhaps those Danes, who were settled among the East-Angles, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had sworn to Alfred,[1] who spent the next year in repairing London (besieging, saith Huntingdon) much ruined and unpeopled by the Danes; the Londoners, all but those who had been led

[5] Camden. [6] Post Christ. 879. Sax. an. [7] Post Christ. 882. Sax. an.
[8] Post Christ. 885. Sax. an. [9] Sim. Dun. [1] Post Christ. 886. Sax. ann.

away captive,[2] soon returned to their dwellings, and Ethred, duke of Mercia, was by the king appointed their governor. [3]But after thirteen years' respite of peace, another Danish fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, from the east part of France, arrived at the mouth of a river in East Kent, called Limen, nigh to the great wood Andred, famous for length and breadth; into that wood they drew up their ships four miles from the river's mouth, and built a fortress. After whom Haesten, with another Danish fleet of eighty ships, entering the mouth of Thames, built a fort at Middleton, the former army remaining at a place called Apeltre. Alfred perceiving this, took of those Danes who dwelt in Northumberland a new oath of fidelity, and of those in Essex hostages, lest they should join, as they were wont, with their countrymen newly arrived.[4] And by the next year having got together his forces, between either army of the Danes encamped so as to be ready for either of them, who first should happen to stir forth; troops of horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spared from strong places, wherever the countries wanted them, to encounter foraging parties of the enemy. The king also divided sometimes his whole army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrenched. In conclusion rolling up and down, both sides met at Farnham in Surrey; where the Danes by Alfred's horse troops were put to flight, and crossing the Thames to a certain island near Coln in Essex, or as Camden thinks by Colebrook, were besieged there by Alfred till provision failed the besiegers, another part staid behind with their king wounded. Meanwhile Alfred preparing to reinforce the siege of Colney, the Danes of Northumberland, breaking faith, came by sea to the East-Angles, and with a hundred ships coasting southward, landed in Devonshire, and besieged Exeter; thither Alfred hasted with his powers, except a squadron of Welsh that came to London: with whom the citizens marching forth to Beamflet, where Haesten the Dane had built a strong fort, and left a garrison, while he himself with the main of his army was entered far into the country, luckily suprise the fort, master the garrison, make prey of all they find there; their ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many prisoners, among whom the wife and two sons of Haesten were

[2] Sim Dun. [3] Post Christ. 893. Sax. an. [4] Post. Christ. 894. Sax. an.

sent to the king, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon Heasten gave oath of amity and hostages to the king; he in requital, whether freely or by agreement, a sum of money. Nevertheless, without regard of faith given, while Alfred was busied about Exeter, joining with the other Danish army, he built another castle in Essex at Shoberie, thence marching westward by the Thames, aided with the Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, they came at length to Severn, pillaging all in their way. But Ethred, Ethelm, and Ethelnoth, the king's captains, with united forces pitched nigh to them at Buttington, on the Severn bank in Montgomeryshire,[5] the river running between, and there many weeks attended; the king meanwhile blocking up the Danes who besieged Exeter, having eaten part of their horses, the rest urged with hunger broke forth to their fellows, who lay encamped on the east side of the river, and were all there discomfited with some loss of valiant men on the king's party; the rest fled back to Essex, and their fortress there. Then Laf, one of their leaders, gathered before winter a great army of Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, who leaving their money, ships, and wives with the East-Angles, and marching day and night, sat down before a city in the west called Wirheal near to Chester, and took it ere they could be overtaken. The English after two days' siege, hopeless to dislodge them, wasted the country round to cut off from them all provision and departed. [6]Soon after which, next year, the Danes no longer able to hold Wirhall, destitute of victuals, entered North Wales; thence laden with spoils, part returned to Northumberland, others to the East-Angles as far as Essex, where they seized on a small island called Meresig. And here again the annals record them to besiege Exeter, but without coherence of sense or story. [7]Others relate to this purpose, that returning by sea from the siege of Exeter, and in their way landing on the coast of Sussex, they of Chichester sallied out and slew of them many hundreds, taking also some of their ships. The same year they who possessed Meresig, intending to winter thereabout, drew up their ships, some into the Thames, others into the river Lee, and on the bank thereof built a castle twenty miles from London; to assault which, the Londoners aided with other forces marched

[5] Camden. [6] Post Christ. 895. Sax. an. [7] Sim Dun. Florent.

out the summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the king's captains [g]Huntingdon writes quite the contrary, that these four were Danish captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be placed in Huntingdon single. For the king thereupon with his forces lay encamped nearer the city, that the Danes might not infest them in time of harvest; in the mean time, subtilely devising to turn Lee stream several ways, whereby the Danish bottoms were left on dry ground: which they soon perceiving, marched over land to Quatbrig on the Severn, built a fortress, and wintered there; while their ships left in Lee were either broken or brought away by the Londoners; but their wives and children they had left in safety with the East-Angles. [h]The next year was pestilent, and besides the common sort, took away many great earls, Kelmond in Kent, Birthulf in Essex, Wulfred in Hampshire, with many others; and to this evil the Danes in Northumberland and East-Angles ceased not to endamage the West-Saxons, especially by stealth, robbing on the south shore in certain long galleys. But the king causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy oars, higher, swifter, and steadier than such as were in use before either with Danes or Frisons, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six Danish pirates, who had done much harm to the Isle of Wight, and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the water, part on the sands; not without loss of some eminent men on the English side. The pirates at length were either slain or taken, two of them stranded; the men brought to Winchester, where the king then was, were executed by his command; one of them escaped to the East-Angles, her men much wounded: the same year not fewer than twenty of their ships perished on the south coast with all their men. And Rollo the Dane or Norman landing here, as Matt. West. writes, though not in what part of the island, after an unsuccessful fight against those forces which first opposed him, sailed into France and conquered the country, since that time called Normandy. This is the sum of what passed in three years against the Danes, returning out of France, set down so perplexly by the Saxon annalist, ill-gifted with utterance, as with much ado can be

[g] Post. Christ. 896. Sax. an. [h] Post. Christ. 897. Sax. an.

understood sometimes what is spoken, whether meant of the Danes or of the Saxons. After which troublesome time Alfred enjoyed three years peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all virtuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a prince of his renown, ended his days in the year nine hundred,[2] the fifty-first of his age, the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried regally at Winchester: he was born at a place called Wanading in Berkshire, his mother Osburga, the daughter of Oslac the king's cupbearer, a Goth by nation, and of noble descent. He was of person comelier than all his brethren, of pleasing tongue and graceful behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondness of his parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth year of his age; but the great desire of learning, which was in him, soon appeared by his conning of Saxon poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was beside excellent at hunting, and the new art then of hawking, but more exemplary at devotion, having collected into a book certain prayers and psalms, which he carried ever with him in his bosom to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complained, that in his youth he had no teachers, in his middle age so little vacancy from wars and the cares of his kingdom; yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his people, by translating books out of Latin into English, Orosius, Boethius, Beda's history and others; permitted none unlearned to bear office, either in court or commonwealth. At twenty years of age, not yet reigning, he took to wife Egelswitha the daughter of Ethelred a Mercian earl. The extremities which befel him in the sixth of his reign, Neothan abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaint of such as injured and oppressed repaired to him, as then second person in the kingdom, for redress; which neglect, were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detained long with sad and sorrowful narrations; but from the time of his undertaking regal charge, no man more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing justice, and providing good laws, which are yet extant;

[2] Post Christ. 900. Asser.

more severe in punishing unjust judges or obstinate offenders. Thieves especially and robbers, to the terrour of whom in cross ways were hung upon a high post certain chains of gold, as if were daring any one to take them hence, so that justice seemed in his days not to flourish only, but to triumph: no man than he more frugal of two precious things in man's life, his time and his revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His time, the day and night, he distributed by the burning of certain tapers into three equal portions; the one was for devotion, the other for public or private affairs, the third for bodily refreshment; how each hour passed, he was put in mind by one who had that office. His whole annual revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal parts, the first he employed to secular uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his soldiers, household servants and guard, of which divided into three bands, one attended monthly by turn; the second was to pay his architects and workmen, whom he had got together of several nations, for he was also an elegant builder, above the custom and conceit of Englishmen in those days: the third he had in readiness to relieve or honour strangers according to their worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts, the first to relieve the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two monasteries, the third of a school, where he persuaded the sons of many noblemen to study sacred knowledge and liberal arts, some say at Oxford;[2] the fourth was for the relief of foregn churches, as far as India to the shrine of St. Thomas, sending thither Sigelm bishop of Sherburn, who both returned safe, and brought with him many rich gems and spices; gifts also and a letter he received from the patriarch at Jerusalem, sent many to Rome, and from them received relics. Thus far, and much more might be said of his noble mind, which rendered him the mirror of princes; his body was diseased in his youth with a great soreness in the siege, and that ceasing of itself, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day: yet not disenabled to sustain those many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war.

[2] Malms.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

EDWARD the son of Alfred succeeded,[4] in learning not equal, in power and extent of dominion surpassing his father. The beginning of his reign had much disturbance by Ethelwald an ambitious young man,[5] son of the king's uncle, or cousin german, or brother, for his genealogy is variously delivered. He vainly avouching to have equal right with Edward of succession to the crown, possessed himself of Winburn in Dorset,[6] and another town diversly named, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompassed with the king's forces at Badbury, a place nigh, his heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the Danish army beyond Humber. The king sent after him, but not overtaking, found his wife in the town, whom he had married out of a nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither. [7]About this time the Kentish men against a multitude of Danish pirates fought prosperously at a place called Holme, as Hoveden records. Ethelwald, aided by the Northumbrians with shipping, three years after,[8] sailing to the East-Angles, persuaded the Danes there to fall into the king's territory, who marching with him as far as Cricklad, and passing the Thames there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and laden with spoils returned home. The king with his powers making speed after them, between the Dike and Ouse, supposed to be Suffolk and Cambridgeshire as far as the fens northward, laid waste all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his army should follow him close without delay; but the Kentish men, though often called upon, lagging behind, the Danish army prevented them, and joined battle with the king: where duke Sigulf and earl Sigelm, with many other of the nobles, were slain; on the Danes' part, Eoric their king, and Ethelwald the author of this war, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides; yet the Danes kept in their power the burying of their slain. Whatever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the king two years after with the Danes,[9] both of East-Angles and Northumberland, concluded peace, which continued three years, by whomsoever broken: for at the end thereof king Edward, raising great forces out of

[4] Malms. [5] Hunting. [6] Post Christ. 901. Sax. an. [7] Post Christ. 902. [8] Post Christ. 905. Sax. an. [9] Post. Christ. 907. Sax an. [1] Post Christ. 910. Sax. an.

West-Sex and Mercia, sent them against the Danes beyo
Humber; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil a
slaughter. The king offered, them terms of peace, b
they rejecting all, entered with the next year into Mercia,
rendering no less hostility than they had suffered; but
Tetnal in Staffordshire, saith Florent, were by the Engli
in a set battle overthrown. King Edward, then in Ken
had got together of ships about a hundred sail, others go
southward came back and met him. The Danes, now su
posing that his main forces were upon the sea, took liber
to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey l
them, beyond Severn. [3]The king guessing what might e
bolden them, sent before him the lightest of his army to e
tertain them; then following with the rest, set upon them
their return over Cantbrig in Gloucestershire, and slew ma
thousands, among whom Ecwils, Hafden, and Hinguar the
kings, and many other harsh names in Huntingdon; the pla
also of this fight is variously written, by Ethelwerd and Flore
called Wodensfield. [4]The year following, Ethred the duke
Mercia, to whom Alfred had given London, with his daught
in marriage, now dying, king Edward resumed that city, a
Oxford, with the countries adjoining, into his own hands; a
the year after [5]built, or much repaired by his soldiers, the to
of Hertford on either side Lee; and having a sufficient nu
ber at the work, marched about middle summer with the oth
part of his forces into Essex, and encamped at Maldon, wh
his soldiers built Witham, where a good part of the count
subject formerly to the Danes, yielded themselves to his pr
tection. [6]Four years after (Florent allows but one year t
Danes from Leicester and Northampton, falling into Oxfor
shire, committed much rapine, and in some towns there
great slaughter; while another party wasting Hertfordshir
met with other fortune: for the country people, inured n
to such kind of incursions, joining stoutly together, fell up
the spoilers, and recovered their own goods, with some boo
from their enemies. About the same time Elfled the king
sister sent her army of Mercians into Wales, who routed t
Welsh,[7] took the castle of Brecnan-mere by Brecknock, a

[2] Post Christ. 911. Sax. an. [3] Ethelwerd. [4] Post. Chri
912. Sax. an. [5] Post Christ. 913. Sax. an. [6] Post Chri
917. Sax. an. [7] Huntingd. Camd.

brought away the king's wife of that country, with other prisoners. Not long after she took Derby from the Danes, and the castle by a sharp assault. [8]But the year ensuing brought a new fleet of Danes to Ludwic in Devonshire, under two leaders, Otter and Roald, who sailing thence westward about the land's end, came up to the mouth of Severn; there landing wasted the Welsh coast, and Irchenfield part of Herefordshire; where they took Kuneleac a British bishop, for whose ransom king Edward gave forty pound: but the men of Hereford and Gloucestershire assembling put them to flight; slaying Roald and the brother of Otter, with many more, pursued them to a wood, and there beset compelled them to give hostages of present departure The king with his army sat not far off, securing from the south of Severn to Avon; so that openly they durst not, by night they twice ventured to land; but found such welcome that few of them came back; the rest anchored by a small island, where many of them famished, then sailing to a place called Deomed, they crossed into Ireland. The king with his army went to Buckingham, staid there a month, and built two castles or forts on either bank of Ouse ere his departing; and Turkitel a Danish leader, with those of Bedford and Northampton, yielded him subjection. [9]Whereupon the next year, he came with his army to the town of Bedford, took possession thereof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the town, on the south side of Ouse. [1]Thence the year following went again to Maldon, repaired and fortified the town. Turkitel the Dane having small hope to thrive here, where things with such prudence were managed against his interest, got leave of the king, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into France. [2]Early the next year king Edward re-edified Tovechester now Torchester; and another city in the annals called Wigingmere. Meanwhile the Danes in Leicester and Northamptonshire, not liking perhaps to be neighboured with strong towns, laid siege to Torchester; but they within repelling the assault one whole day till supplies came, quitted the siege by night; and pursued close by the besieged, between Birnwud and Ailsbury were surprised, many of them made prisoners, and much of their baggage lost. Other of the Danes at Huntingdon, aided from the East-Angles, finding

[8] Post Christ. 918. Sax. an.
[9] Post Christ. 919. Sax. an.
[1] Post Christ. 920. Sax. an.
[2] Post Christ. 921. Sax an.

Scotus any mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in Marianus, whether by surname or by nation Scotus, will be found as little mention of any other Scottish affairs, till the time of king Dunchad slain by Machetad, or Macbeth, in the year 1040: which gives cause of suspicion, that the affairs of Scotland before that time were so obscure, as to be unknown to their own countrymen, who lived and wrote his chronicle not long after. But king Edward thus nobly doing, and thus honoured, the year[8] following died at Farendon; a builder and restorer even in war, not a destroyer of his land. He had by several wives many children; his eldest daughter Edgith he gave in marriage to Charles king of France, grandchild of Charles the Bald above mentioned: of the rest in place convenient. His laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at Winchester, in the monastery, by Alfred his father. And a few days after him died Ethelward his eldest son, the heir of his crown. He had the whole island in subjection, yet so as petty kings reigned under him.[9] In Northumberland, after Ecbert whom the Danes had set up and the Northumbrians, yet unruly under their yoke, at the end of six years had expelled, one Ricsig was set up king, and bore the name three years; then another Ecbert, and Guthred: the latter, if we believe legends, of a servant made king by command of St. Cudbert, in a vision; and enjoined by another vision of the same saint, to pay well for his royalty many lands and privileges to his church and monastery. But now to the story.

ATHELSTAN.

ATHELSTAN, next in age to Ethelward his brother, who deceased untimely few days before, though born of a concubine, yet for the great appearance of many virtues in him, and his brethren being yet under age, was exalted to the throne at Kingston upon Thames,[1] and by his father's last will, saith Malmsbury, yet not without some opposition of one Alfred and his accomplices; who not liking he should reign, had conspired to seize on him after his father's death, and to put out his eyes. But the conspirators discovered, and Alfred,

[8] Post Christ. 925 Sax an. Huntingd. Mat. West. [9] Sim. Dun.
[1] Post Christ. 926.

denying the plot,[2] was sent to Rome, to assert his innocence before the pope; where taking his oath on the altar, he fell down immediately, and carried out by his servants, three days after died. Meanwhile beyond Humber the Danes, though much awed, were not idle. Ingauld, one of their kings, took possession of York; Sitric, who some years[3] before had slain Niel his brother, by force took Davenport in Cheshire; and however he defended these doings, grew so inconsiderable,[4] that Athelstan with great solemnity gave him his sister Edgith to wife: but he enjoyed her not long, dying ere the year's end; nor his sons Anlaf and Guthfert the kingdom, driven out the next[5] year by Athelstan: not unjustly saith Huntingdon, as being first raisers of the war. Simeon calls him Gudfrid a British king, whom Athelstan this year drove out of his kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only mistaken. Malmsbury differs in the name also, calling him Adulf a certain rebel. Them also I wish as much mistaken, who write that Athelstan, jealous of his younger brother Edwin's towardly virtues, lest added to the right of birth they might some time or other call in question his illegitimate precedence, caused him to be drowned in the sea;[6] exposed, some say, with one servant in a rotten bark, without sail or oar; where the youth far off land, and in rough weather despairing, threw himself overboard; the servant, more patient, got to land, and reported the success. But this Malmsbury confesses to be sung in old songs, not read in warrantable authors: and Huntingdon speaks as of a sad accident to Athelstan, that he lost his brother Edwin by sea; far the more credible, in that Athelstan, as it is written by all, tenderly loved and bred up the rest of his brethren, of whom he had no less cause to be jealous. And the year[7] following he prospered better than from so foul a fact, passing into Scotland with great puissance, both by sea and land, and chasing his enemies before him, by land as far as Dunfeoder and Wertermore, by sea as far as Cathuess The cause of this expedition, saith Malmsbury, was to demand Guthfert the son of Sitric, thither fled, though not denied at length by Constantine, who with Eugenius king of

[2] Malms. [3] Sim. Dun. [4] Malms. Mat. West. [5] Post Christ. 927. Sax. an. [6] Post Christ. 933 Sim. Dun. [7] Post Christ. 934. Sax. an. Sim. Dun.

Cumberland, at a place called Dacor or Dacre in that shire, surrendered himself and each his kingdom to Athelstan, who brought back with him for hostage the son of Constantine.[a] But Guthfert escaping in the mean while out of Scotland, and Constantine, exasperated by this invasion, persuaded Anlaf, the other son of Sitric, then fled into Ireland, [b]others write Anlaf king of Ireland and the Isles, his son-in-law, with six hundred and fifteen ships, and the king of Cumberland with other forces, to his aid. This within four years' effected, they entered England by Humber, and fought with Athelstan at a place called Wendune, others term it Brunanburg, others Bruneford, which Ingulf places beyond Humber, Camden in Glendale of Northumberland on the Scotch borders; the bloodiest fight, say authors, that ever this island saw: to describe which the Saxon annalist, wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his argument, and overcharged, runs on a sudden into such extravagant fancies and metaphors, as bear him quite beside the scope of being understood. Huntingdon, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a pastime to his readers. I shall only sum up what of him I can attain, in usual language. The battle was fought eagerly from morning to night; some fell of King Edward's old army, tried in many a battle before, but on the other side great multitudes, the rest fled to their ships. Five kings, and seven of Anlaf's chief captains, were slain on the place, with Froda a Norman leader, Constantine escaped home, but lost his son in the fight, if I understand my author; Anlaf by sea to Dublin, with a small remainder of his great host. Malmsbury relates this war, adding many circumstances after this manner: that Anlaf, joining with Constantine and the whole power of Scotland, besides those which he brought with him out of Ireland, came on far southwards, till Athelstan, who had retired on set purpose to be the surer of his enemies, enclosed from all succour and retreat, met him at Bruneford. Anlaf perceiving the valour and resolution of Athelstan, and mistrusting his own forces, though numerous, resolved first to spy in what posture his enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by king Alfred the age before, in the habit of a musician, got access

[a] Florent. [b] Florent. Sim. Dun. [1] Post Christ Sax. an. Malms.

by his lute and voice to the king's tent, there playing both the minstrel and the spy: then towards evening dismissed, he was observed by one who had been his soldier, and well knew him, viewing earnestly the king's tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The soldier forthwith acquaints the king, and by him blamed for letting go his enemy, answered, that he had given first his military oath to Anlaf, whom if he had betrayed, the king might suspect him of like treasonous mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advised him to remove his tent a good distance off: and so done, it happened that a bishop, with his retinue coming that night to the army, pitched his tent in the same place from whence the king had removed. Anlaf, coming by night as he had designed, to assault the camp, and especially the king's tent, finding there the bishop instead, slew him with all his followers. Athelstan took the alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintained the fight till evening, wherein Constantine himself was slain with five other kings, and twelve earls, the annals were content with seven, in the rest not disagreeing. Ingulf abbot of Croyland, from the authority of Turketul a principal leader in this battle, relates it more at large to this effect: That Athelstan, above a mile distant from the place where execution was done upon the bishop and his supplies, alarmed at the noise, came down by break of day upon Anlaf and his army, overwatched and wearied now with the slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main battles. The king, therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, consisting most of West Saxons, against Anlaf with his Danes and Irish, committing the other to his chancellor Turketul, with the Mercians and Londoners, against Constantine and his Scots. The shower of arrows and darts overpassed, both battles attacked each other with a close and terrible engagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the chancellor Turketul, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few Londoners of select valour, and Singin who led the Worcestershire men, a captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the Picts and Orkeners, then through the Cumbrians and Scots, and came at length where Constantine himself fought,

unhorsed him, and used all means to take him alive; but the Scots valiantly defending their king, and laying load upon Turketul, which the goodness of his armour well endured, he had yet been beaten down, had not Singin his faithful second at the same time slain Constantine; which once known, Anlaf and the whole army betook them to flight, whereof a huge multitude fell by the sword. This Turketul, not long after leaving worldly affairs, became abbot of Croyland, which at his own cost he had repaired from Danish ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. Athelstan with his brother Edmund victorious thence turning into Wales, with much more ease vanquished Ludwal the king, and possessed his land. But Malmsbury writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displaced, so he restored both him and Constantine to their regal state: for the surrender of king Constantine hath been above spoken of. However the Welsh did him homage at the city of Hereford, and covenanted yearly payment of gold twenty pound, of silver three hundred, of oxen twenty-five thousand, besides hunting dogs and hawks. He also took Exeter from the Cornish Britons, who till that time had equal right there with the English, and bounded them with the river Tamar, as the other British with Wey. Thus dreaded of his enemies, and renowned far and near, three years[2] after he died at Gloucester, and was buried with many trophies at Malmsbury, where he had caused to be laid his two cousin germans, Elwin and Ethelstan, both slain in the battle against Anlaf. He was thirty years old at his coming to the crown, mature in wisdom from his childhood, comely of person and behaviour; so that Alfred his grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the kingdom, and put him yet a child into soldier's habit. He had his breeding in the court of Elfled his aunt, of whose virtues more than female we have related, sufficient to evince that his mother, though said to be no wedded wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the royal line disdained not, though the song went in Malmsbury's days (for it seems he refused not the authority of ballads for want of better) that his mother was a farmer's daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamed one night she brought forth a moon that should enlighten the whole land: which the king's nurse hearing of, took her home

[2] Post Christ. 941. Sax. an. Malms. Ingulf.

and bred up courtly; that the king, coming one day to visit his nurse, saw there this damsel, liked her, and by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous Athelstan, a bounteous, just, and affable king, as Malmsbury sets him forth, nor less honoured abroad by foreign kings, who sought his friendship by great gifts or affinity; that Harold king of Noricum sent him a ship whose prow was of gold, sails purple, and other golden things, the more to be wondered at, sent from Noricum, whether meant Norway or Bavaria, the one place so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other from all sea: the ambassadors were Helgrim and Offrid, who found the king at York. His sisters he gave in marriage to greatest princes; Elgif to Otho son of Henry the emperor; Egdith to a certain duke about the Alps; Edgiv to Ludwic king of Aquitain, sprung of Charles the Great; Ethilda to Hugo king of France, who sent Aldulf son of Baldwin earl of Flanders to obtain her. From all these great suitors, especially from the emperor and king of France, came rich presents, horses of excellent breed, gorgeous trappings and armour, relics, jewels, odours, vessels of onyx, and other precious things, which I leave poetically described in Malmsbury, taken, as he confesses, out of an old versifier, some of whose verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him was the exposing his brother Edwin, who disavowed by oath the treason whereof he was accused, and implored an equal hearing. But these were songs, as before hath been said, which add also that Athelstan, his anger over, soon repented of the fact, and put to death his cupbearer, who had induced him to suspect and expose his brother; put in mind by a word falling from the cupbearer's own mouth, who slipping one day as he bore the king's cup, and recovering himself on the other leg, said aloud fatally, as to him it proved, one brother helps the other. Which words the king laying to heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his brother, avenged himself first on the adviser of that fact, took on him seven years' penance, and as Mat. West. saith, built two monasteries for the soul of his brother. His laws are extant among the laws of other Saxon kings to this day.

EDMUND.

EDMUND not above eighteen years[8] old succeeded his brother

[8] Post Christ. 942. Sax. an.

Athelstan, in courage not inferior. For in the second of h reign he freed Mercia of the Danes that remained there, an took from them the cities of Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamfor Derby, and Leicester, where they were placed by king Edward but it seems gave not good proof of their fidelity. Simeo writes, that Anlaf setting forth from York, and having waste southward as far as Northampton, was met by Edmund a Leicester; but that ere the battles joined, peace was mad between them by Odo and Wulstan the two archbishops, wit conversion of Anlaf; for the same year Edmund received a the fontstone this or another Anlaf, as saith Huntingdon, no him spoken of before, who died this year, (so uncertain the are in the story of these times also) and held Reginald an other king of the Northumbers, while the bishop confirme him: their limits were divided north and south by Watling street. But spiritual kindred little availed to keep peace be tween them, whoever gave the cause; for we read him tw years[2] after driving Anlaf (whom the annals now first call th son of Sitric) and Suthfrid son of Reginald out of Northum berland, taking the whole country into subjection. Edmund the next[1] year harassed Cumberland, then gave it to Maicoln king of Scots, thereby bound to assist him in his wars, bot by sea and land. Mat. West. adds, that in this action Ed mund had the aid of Leolin prince of North Wales, again Dummail the Cumbrian king, him depriving of his kingdom and his two sons of their sight. But the year[2] after, he him self by strange accident came to an untimely death: feastin with his nobles on St Austin's day at Pucklekerke in Glou cester, to celebrate the memory of his first converting th Saxons; he spied Leof a noted thief, whom he had banished sitting among his guests: whereat transported with too muc vehemence of spirit, though in a just cause, rising from th table he ran upon the thief, and catching his hair, pulled hi to the ground. The thief, who doubted from such handling n less than his death intended, thought to die not unrevenged and with a short dagger struck the king, who still laid at hi and little expected such an assassination, mortally into th breast. The matter was done in a moment, ere the men set a table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir mean

[0] Post Christ. 944. Sax an. [1] Post Christ. 945. Sax. an.
[2] Post Christ. 946. Sax. an.

till perceiving the king deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hewed him to pieces; who like a wild beast at bay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The king was buried at Glaston, whereof Dunstan was then abbot; his laws yet remain to be seen among the laws of other Saxon kings.

EDRED.

Edred, the third brother of Athelstan, the sons of Edmund being yet but children, next reigned, not degenerating from his worthy predecessors, and crowned at Kingston. Northumberland he thoroughly subdued, the Scots without refusal swore him allegiance; yet the Northumbrians, ever of doubtful faith, soon after chose to themselves one Eric a Dane. Huntingdon still haunts us with this Anlaf, (of whom we gladly would have been rid,) and will have him before Eric recalled once more and reign four years,[3] then again put to his shifts. But Edred entering into Northumberland, and with spoils returning, Eric the king fell upon his rear. Edred turning about, both shook off the enemy, and prepared to make a second inroad; which the Northumbrians dreading, rejected Eric, slew Amancus the son of Anlaf, and with many presents appeasing Edred, submitted again to his government,[4] nor from that time had kings, but were governed by earls, of whom Osulf was the first. [5]About this time Wulstan archbishop of York, accused to have slain certain men of Thetford in revenge of their abbot, whom the townsmen had slain, was committed by the king to close custody; but soon after enlarged, was restored to his place Malmsbury writes, that his crime was to have connived at the revolt of his countrymen: but King Edred two years after [6]sickening in the flower of his youth, died much lamented, and was buried at Winchester.

EDWI.

Edwi, the son of Edmund, now come to age,[7] after his uncle Edred's death took on him the government, and was crowned at Kingston. His lovely person surnamed him the fair, his

[3] Post Christ. 950. Sim. Dun. [4] Hoved. [5] Post Christ. 952. Sim. Dun. [6] Post Christ. 955 Sim. Dun. [7] Ethelwerd.

actions are diversely reported, by Huntingdon not thought illaudable. But Malmsbury and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married, or kept as concubine, his near kinswomen,[8] some say both her and her daughter; so inordinately given to his pleasure, that on the very day of his coronation he abruptly withdrew himself from the company of his peers, whether in banquet or consultation, to sit wantoning in the chamber with his Algiva, so was her name, who had such power over him. Whereat his barons offended sent bishop Dunstan, the boldest among them, to request his return: he going to the chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance, and rebuked the lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and persuasion brought him back to his nobles. The king highly displeased,[9] and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent Dunstan into banishment, caused his monastery to be rifled, and became an enemy to all monks and friars. Whereupon Odo archbishop of Canterbury pronounced a separation or divorce of the king from Algiva. But that which most incited William of Malmsbury against him, he gave that monastery to be dwelt in by secular priests, or to use his own phrase, made it a stable of clerks: at length these affronts done to the church were so resented by the people, that the Mercians and Northumbrians revolted from him, and set up Edgar his brother,[1] leaving to Edwi the West-Saxons only, bounded by the river Thames; with grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his days,[2] and was buried at Winchester. Meanwhile[3] Elfin, bishop of that place, after the death of Odo ascending by simony to the chair of Canterbury, and going to Rome the same year for his pall, was frozen to death on the Alps.

EDGAR.

Edgar by his brother's death now[4] king of all England at sixteen years of age, called home Dunstan out of Flanders, where he lived in exile. This king had no war all his reign; yet always well prepared for war, governed the kingdom in great peace, honour, and prosperity, gaining thence the surname

[8] Mat. West. Christ. 955 Sax. an. Christ. 959. Malms. [9] Post Christ. 956. [3] Post Christ. 958. Mat. West. [1] Hoved. [4] Post

name of peaceable, much extolled for justice, clemency, and all kingly virtues,[6] the more, ye may be sure by monks, for his building so many monasteries; as some write, every year one; for he much favoured the monks against secular priests, who in the time of Edwi had got possession in most of their convents. His care and wisdom was great in guarding the coast round with stout ships to the number of three thousand six hundred. Mat. West. reckons them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four squadrons, to sail to and fro, about the four quarters of the land, meeting each other; the first of twelve hundred sail from east to west, the second of as many from west to east, the third and fourth between north and south; himself in the summer time with his fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of strangers, and prevented a foreign war, but by their too frequent resort hither in time of peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their vices unaware. Thence the people, saith Malmsbury, learned of the outlandish Saxons rudeness, of the Flemish dauntiness and softness, of the Danes drunkenness; though I doubt these vices are as naturally homebred here as in any of those countries. Yet in the winter and spring time he usually rode the circuit as a judge itinerant through all his provinces, to see justice well administered. and the poor not oppressed. Thieves and robbers he rooted almost out of the land, and wild beasts of prey altogether; enjoining Ludwal, king of Wales to pay the yearly tribute of three hundred wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cause, he was not crowned till the thirtieth of his age, but then with great splendour and magnificence at the city of Bath, in the feast of Pentecost. This year[7] died Swarling a monk of Croyland, in the hundred and forty-second year of his age, and another soon after him in the hundred and fifteenth; in that fenny and waterish air the more remarkable. King Edgar the next[8] year went to Chester, and summoning to his court there all the kings that held of him, took homage of them: their names are Kened king of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccuse of the Isles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Huwal, Grifith, Jacob, Judethil; these he had in

[6] Mat. West. [7] Post Christ. 973. Sax. an. Ingulf. [8] Post Christ. 974. Sax. an.

such awe, that going one day into a galley, he caused them to take each man his oar, and row him down the river Dee, while he himself sat at the stern; which might be done in merriment, and easily obeyed; if with a serious brow, discovered rather vain-glory, and insulting haughtiness, than moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his words then uttered, that his successors might then glory to be kings of England, when they had such honour done them. And perhaps the divine power was displeased with him for taking too much honour to himself; since we read that[2] the year following he was taken out of this life by sickness in the height of his glory and the prime of his age, buried at Glaston abbey. The same year, as Mat. West. relates, he gave to Kened, the Scottish king, many rich presents, and the whole country of Laudian, or Lothien, to hold of him on condition that he and his successors should repair to the English court at high festivals when the king sat crowned; gave him also many lodging places by the way, which till the days of Henry the second were still held by the kings of Scotland. He was of stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and disliked nothing more, than that they should spare him for respect, or fear to hurt him. Kened king of Scots, then in the court of Edgar, sitting one day at table, was heard to say jestingly among his servants, he wondered how so many provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man: his words were brought to the king's ear; he sends for Kened as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two swords, which he had brought with him, gave one of them to Kened, and now, saith he, it shall be tried which ought to be the subject; for it is shameful for a king to boast at table, and shrink in fight. Kened much abashed fell presently at his feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spoken, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement; wherewith the king was satisfied. Camden, in his description of Ireland, cites a charter of king Edgar, wherein it appears he had in subjection all the kingdoms of the isles as far as Norway, and had subdued the greatest part of Ireland with the city of Dublin: but of this other writers

[2] Post Christ. 975.

make no mention. In his youth having heard of Elfrida, daughter to Ordgar duke of Devonshire, much commended for her beauty, he sent Earl Athelwold, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answered report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view taken with her presence, disloyally, as it oft happens in such employments, began to sue for himself; and with the consent of her parents obtained her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her feature, he easily took off the king's mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how Athelwold had forestalled the king, and Elfrida's beauty more and more spoken of, the king now heated not only with a relapse of love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the earl what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair wife. The earl seemingly assured his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his wife, earnestly advised her to deform herself what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the king, whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She, who by this time was not ignorant how Athelwold had stepped between her and the king, against his coming arrays herself richly, using whatever art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the king, inflamed with her love the more for that he had been so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolved not only to recover his intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destined spouse; and appointing with him as was usual a day of hunting, drawn aside in a forest now called Harewood, smote him through with a dart. Some censure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but considered well, it may be judged more favourably, and that no man of sensible spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to life what worse treason could have been committed against him? It chanced that the earl's base son coming by upon the fact, the king sternly asked him how he liked this game; he submissly answering, that whatsoever pleased the king, must not displease him; the king returned to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favoured him, making amends in the son for what he done to the father. Elfrida forthwith he took to wife, who to expiate her former husband's death, though therein she

had no hand, covered the place of his bloodshed with a monastery of nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a virgin Wilfrida by force out of the nunnery, where she was placed by her friends to avoid his pursuit, and kept her as his concubine: but lived not obstinately in the offence; for sharply reproved by Dunstan, he submitted to seven years' penance, and for that time to want his coronation: but why he had it not before, is left unwritten. Another story there goes of Edgar fitter for a novel than a history; but as I find it in Malmsbury, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstained not from women, and coming on a day to Andover, caused a duke's daughter there dwelling, reported rare of beauty, to be brought to him. The mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her daughter should be so deflowered, at fit time of night sent in her attire one of her waiting maids: a maid it seems not unhandsome nor unwitty; who supplied the place of her young lady. Night passed, the maid going to rise but daylight scarce yet appearing, was by the king asked why she made such haste; she answered, to do the work which her lady had set her; at which the king wondering, and with much ado staying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the duke's daughter, she falling at his feet besought him, that since at the command of her lady she came to his bed, and was enjoyed by him, he would be pleased in recompence to set her free from the hard service of her mistress. The king a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a jest, took the maid away with him, advanced her above her lady, loved her, and accompanied with her only, till he married Elfrida. These only are his faults upon record, rather to be wondered how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at sixteen to the licence of a sceptre; and that his virtues were so many and mature, he dying before the age wherein wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness: however, with him died all the Saxon glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double conquest, and the causes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praises of their former actions and liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another book.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

EDWARD THE YOUNGER.

EDWARD, the eldest son of Edgar by Egelfleda his first wife, the daughter of duke Ordmer, was according to right and his father's will placed on the throne; Elfrida, his second wife, and her faction only repining, who laboured to have had her son Ethelred, a child of seven years, preferred before him; that she under that pretence might have ruled all. Meanwhile comets were seen in heaven, portending not famine only, which followed the next year, but the troubled state of the whole realm not long after to ensue. The troubles begun in Edwin's days, between monks and secular priests, now revived, and drew on either side many of the nobles into parties For Elfere duke of the Mercians, with many other peers, corrupted as is said with gifts,[1] drove the monks out of those monasteries where Edgar had placed them, and in their stead put secular priests with their wives. But Ethelwin duke of East-Angles, with his brother Elfwold, and earl Britnorth, opposed them, and gathering an army defended the abbeys of East-Angles from such intruders. To appease these tumults, a synod was called at Winchester; and, nothing there concluded, a general council both of nobles and prelates was held at Calu in Wiltshire, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against Dunstan, the room wherein they sat fell upon their heads, killing some, maiming others, Dunstan only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the king absent by reason of his tender age. This accident quieted the controversy, and brought both parts to hold with Dunstan and the monks. Meanwhile the king, addicted to a religious life, and of a mild spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his stepmother and her son Ethelred: to whom she, displeased that the name only of king was wanting, practised thenceforth to remove king Edward out of the way, which in this manner she brought about. Edward on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendants followed the dogs, hearing that Ethelred and his mother lodged at Corvesgate, (Corfe castle, saith Camden, in the isle of Purbeck,) innocently went thither. She with all show of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought

[1] Florent. Sim. Dun.

forth, for it seems he lighted not from his horse; and while he was drinking, caused one of her servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a poniard. The poor youth, who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood failing from his horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the stirrup, he was dragged along the way, traced by his blood, and buried without honour at Werham, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After which by duke Elfere (who, as Malmsbury saith,[2] had a hand in his death) he was royally interred at Skepton or Shaftesbury. The murderess Elfrida, at length repenting, spent the residue of her days in sorrow and great penance.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred, second son of Edgar by Elfrida, (for Edmund died a child,) his brother Edward wickedly removed, was now next in right to succeed,[3] and accordingly crowned at Kingston: reported by some, fair of visage, comely of person, elegant of behaviour;[4] but the event will show, that with many sluggish and ignoble vices he quickly shamed his outside, born and prolonged a fatal mischief of the people, and the ruin of his country, whereof he gave early signs from his first infancy, bewraying the font and water while the bishop was baptizing him. Whereat Dunstan much troubled, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, "By God and God's mother, this boy will prove a sluggard." Another thing is written of him in his childhood; which argued no bad nature, that hearing of his brother Edward's cruel death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother, offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him so with great wax-candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. Dunstan though unwilling set the crown upon his head; but at the same time foretold openly, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the land, in avengement of his brother's innocent blood.[5] And about the same time, one midnight, a cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all England; and within three years[6] the Danish tempest,

[2] Post Christ. 978. Malms. [3] Post Christ. 979. Malms.
[4] Florent. Sim. Dun. [5] Sim. Dun. [6] Post Christ. 982 Malms.

which had long surceased, revolved again upon this island. To the more ample relating whereof, the Danish history, at least their latest and diligentest historian, as neither from the first landing of Danes, in the reign of West-Saxon Brithric, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing, busied more than enough to make out the bare names and successions of their uncertain kings, and their small actions, at home; unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own annals; the surer and the sadder witnesses of their doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly barbarous. [7]For the Danes well understanding that England had now a slothful king to their wish, first landing at Southampton from seven great ships, took the town, spoiled the country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was Devonshire and Cornwall uninfested on the shore,[8] pirates of Norway also harried the coast of West-chester:[9] and to add a worse calamity, the city of London was burnt, casually or not, is not written. [1]It chanced four years after, that Ethelred besieged Rochester; some way or other offended by the bishop thereof. Dunstan, not approving the cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not St. Andrew the patron of that city, nor waste his lands, an old craft of the clergy to secure their church-lands, by entailing them on some saint: the king not hearkening, Dunstan, on this condition that the siege might be raised, sent him a hundred pounds, the money was accepted and the siege dissolved. Dunstan, reprehending his avarice, sent him again this word, "Because thou hast respected money more than religion, the evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee, but not in my days, for so God hath spoken." The next year was calamitous,[2] bringing strange fluxes upon men, and murrain upon cattle. [3]Dunstan the year following died, a strenuous bishop, zealous without dread of person, and for aught appears, the best of many ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular affairs He was chaplain at first to king Athelstan, and Edmund, who succeeded, much employed in court affairs, till envied by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by Edmund forbidden the court; but by the earnest mediation, saith Ingulf, of Turketul the chancellor, received at length to favour, and

[7] Eadmer. Florent. [8] Hoved. [9] Sim. Dun. Hoved. [1] Post Christ. 986. Malms. Ingulf. [2] Post Christ. 987, Malms. [3] Post Christ. 988. Malms.

made abbot of Glaston; lastly by Edgar and the general vote, archbishop of Canterbury. Not long after his death, the Danes arriving in Devonshire were met by Goda lieutenant of that country, and Strenwold a valiant leader, who put back the Danes, but with loss of their own lives. [4]The third year following, under the conduct of Justin and Guthmund the son of Steytan, they landed and spoiled Ipswich, fought with Britnoth duke of the East-Angles about Maldon, where they slew him; the slaughter else had been equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the English not able to resist, by council of Siric then archbishop of Canterbury, and two dukes Ethelward and Alfric, it was thought best for the present to buy that with silver, which they could not gain with their iron; and ten thousand pounds were paid to the Danes for peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. [5]The next year but one, they took by storm and rifled Bebbanburg, an ancient city near Durham: sailing thence to the mouth of Humber, they wasted both sides thereof, Yorkshire and Lindsey, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three noblemen, Frana, Frithegist, and Godwin; but being all Danes by the father's side, willingly began flight, and forsook their own forces betrayed to the enemy. [6]No less treachery was at sea; for Alfric, the son of Elfer duke of Mercia, whom the king for some offence had banished, but now recalled, sent from London with a fleet, to surprise the Danes, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself, which his fleet, saith Florent, perceiving, pursued, took the ship, but missed of his person; the Londoners by chance grappling with the East-Angles made them fewer, saith my author, by many thousands. Others say,[7] that by this notice of Alfric the Danes not only escaped, but with a greater fleet set upon the English, took many of their ships, and in triumph brought them up the Thames, intending to besiege London: for Anlaf king of Norway, and Swane of Denmark, at the head of these, came with ninety-four galleys. The king, for this treason of Alfric, put out his son's eyes; but the Londoners both by land and water so valiantly resisted their besiegers, that they were forced in one day, with great loss, to give over. But what they could not

[4] Post Christ. 991 Sim. Dun.
[5] Post Christ. 993 Sim. Dun.
[6] Florent. Huntingd.
[7] Post Christ. 994. Sim. Dun.

on the city, they wrecked themselves on the countries round about, wasting with sword and fire all Essex, Kent, and Sussex. Thence horsing their foot, diffused far wider their outrageous incursions, without mercy either to sex or age. The slothful king, instead of warlike opposition in the field, sends ambassadors to treat about another payment;[8] the sum promised was now sixteen thousand pounds; till which paid, the Danes wintered at Southampton; Ethelred inviting Anlaf to come and visit him at Andover,[9] where he was royally entertained, some say baptized, or confirmed, adopted son by the king, and dismissed with great presents, promising by oath to depart and molest the kingdom no more;[1] which he performed; but the calamity ended not so, for after some intermission of their rage for three years,[2] the other navy of Danes sailing about to the west, entered Severn, and wasted one while South Wales, then Cornwall and Devonshire, till at length they wintered about Tavistock. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallowed up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behind them, easy to be imagined. [3]In sum, the next year they afflicted Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight, by the English many resolutions were taken, many armies raised, but either betrayed by the falsehood, or discouraged by the weakness of their leaders, they were put to the rout or disbanded themselves. For soldiers most commonly are as their commanders, without much odds of valour in one nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplined and conducted. [4]The following year brought them back upon Kent, where they entered Medway, and besieged Rochester; but the Kentish men assembling gave them a sharp encounter, yet that sufficed not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Against these depopulations the king levied an army; but the unskilful leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burdening and impoverishing the people, consuming the public treasure, and more emboldening the enemy, than if they had sat quietly at home. What cause moved the Danes next year[5] to pass into Normandy, is not re-

[8] Malms. [9] Ibid. - Huntingd. Post Christ. 996. Sim. Dun.
[1] Post Christ. 1000. Sim. Dun.
[2] Post Christ. 907. Sim. Dun.
[3] Post Christ. 999. Sim Dun.

corded; but that they returned thence more outrageous than before. Meanwhile the king, to make some diversion, undertakes an expedition both by land and sea into Cumberland, where the Danes were most planted; there and in the Isle of Man, or as Camden saith, Anglesey, imitating his enemies in spoiling and unpeopling. The Danes from Normandy arriving in the river Ex, laid siege to Exeter; [6]but the citizens, as those of London, valorously defending themselves, they wrecked their anger, as before, on the villages round about. The country people of Somerset and Devonshire assembling themselves at Penho, shewed their readiness, but wanted a head; and besides being then but few in number, were easily put to flight, the enemy plundering all at will, with loaded spoils passed into the Isle of Wight; from whence all Dorsetshire and Hampshire felt again their fury. The Saxon annals write, that before their coming to Exeter, the Hampshire men had a bickering with them,[7] wherein Ethelward the king's general was slain, adding other things hardly to be understood, and in one ancient copy; so end. Ethelred, whom no adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely, and propose a third tribute to the Danes: they willingly hearken, but the sum is enhanced now to twenty-four thousand pounds, and paid; the Danes thereupon abstaining from hostility. But the king, to strengthen his house by some potent affinity, marries Emma,[8] whom the Saxons call Elgiva, daughter of Richard duke of Normandy. With him Ethelred formerly had war, or no good correspondence, as appears by a letter of Pope John the fifteenth,[9] who made peace between them about eleven years before, puffed up now with his supposed access of strength by this affinity, he caused the Danes all over England, though now living peaceably,[1] in one day perfidiously to be massacred, both men, women, and children; sending private letters to every town and city, whereby they might be ready all at the same hour; which till the appointed time was (being the ninth of July) concealed with great silence,[2] and performed with much unanimity; so generally hated were the Danes. Mat. West. writes, that this execution upon the

[6] Post Christ. 1001. Sim. Dun. [7] Post Christ. 1002. Sim. Dun.
[8] Malms. [9] Calvis. [1] Florent. Huntingd. [2] Calvis.

Danes was ten years after; that Huna, one of Ethelred's chief captains, complaining of the Danish insolences in time of peace, their pride, their ravishing of matrons and virgins, incited the king to this massacre, which in the madness of rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, Gunhildis the sister of Swane was not spared, though much deserving not pity only, but all protection: she, with her husband earl Palingus, coming to live in England, and receiving Christianity, had her husband and young son slain before her face, herself then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost England dear. [3]Some say this was done by the traitor Edric, to whose custody she was committed; but the massacre was some years before Edric's advancement; and if it were done by him afterwards, it seems to contradict the private correspondence which he was thought to hold with the Danes. For Swane, breathing revenge, hasted the next year into England,[4] and by treason or negligence of Count Hugh, whom Emma had recommended to the government of Devonshire, sacked the city of Exeter, her wall from east to west-gate broken down: after this, wasting Wiltshire, the people of that county, and of Hampshire, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him; but Alfric their general, whose son's eyes the king had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the king, by ruining his own country, when he should have ordered his battle, the enemy being at hand, feigned himself taken with a vomiting; whereby his army in great discontent, destitute of a commander, turned from the enemy; who straight took Wilton and Salisbury, carrying the pillage thereof to the ships. [5]Thence the next year landing on the coast of Norfolk, he wasted the country, and set Norwich on fire; Ulfketel duke of the East-Angles, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his forces, after consultation had, thought it best to make peace with the Dane, which he breaking within three weeks, issued silently out of his ships, came to Thetford, staid there a night, and in the morning left it flaming. Ulfketel hearing this, commanded some to go and break or burn his ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while, with what secrecy and speed was possible, drawing together his forces, went out

[3] Mat. West.
[4] Post Christ. 1003. Sim. Dun.
[5] Post Christ 1004. Sim. Dun.

against the enemy, and gave them a fierce onset retreating to their ships: but much inferior in number, many of the chief East-Angles there lost their lives. Nor did the Danes come off without great slaughter of their own, confessing that they never met in England with so rough a charge. The next year,[6] whom war could not, a great famine drove Swane out of the land. But the summer following, [7]another great fleet of Danes entered the port of Sandwich, thence poured out all over Kent and Sussex, made prey of what they found. The king levying an army out of Mercia, and the West-Saxons, took on him for once the manhood to go out and face them; but they, who held it safer to live by rapine than to hazard a battle, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy camp, following their wonted course of robbery, then running to their ships. Thus all autumn they wearied out the king's army, which gone home to winter, they carried all their pillage to the Isle of Wight, and there staid till Christmas; at which time the king being in Shropshire, and but ill-employed, (for by the procurements of Edric, he caused, as is thought, Alfhelm, a noble duke, treacherously to be slain,[8] and the eyes of his two sons to be put out,) they came forth again, overrunning Hampshire and Berkshire, as far as Reading and Wallingford: thence to Ashdune, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the people in arms by the river Kenet; but making their way through, they got safe with vast booty to their ships. [9]The king and his courtiers wearied out with their last summer's jaunt after the nimble Danes to no purpose, which by proof they found too toilsome for their soft bones, more used to beds and couches, had recourse to their last and only remedy, their coffers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty-six thousand pound (for the Danes knew how to milk such easy kine) in name of tribute and expenses: which out of the people over all England, already half beggared, was extorted and paid. About the same time Ethelred advanced Edric, surnamed Streon, from obscure condition to be duke of Mercia, and marry Edgitha the king's daughter. The cause

[6] Post Christ. 1005 Sim. Dun. [7] Post Christ. 1006. Sim. Dun.
[8] Florent. [9] Post Christ. 1007. Sim. Dun.

of his advancement. Florent of Worcester, and Mat. West. attribute to his great wealth, gotten by fine policies and a plausible tongue: he proved a main accessory to the ruin of England, as his actions will soon declare. Ethelred, the next year,[9] somewhat rousing himself, ordained that every three hundred and ten hides (a hide is so much land as one plough can sufficiently till) should set out a ship or galley, and every nine hides find a corslet and headpiece: new ships in every port were built, victualled, fraught with stout mariners and soldiers, and appointed to meet all at Sandwich. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, dissension among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. Birthric, the brother of Edric, falsely accused Wulnoth, a great officer set over the South-Saxons, who, fearing the potency of his enemies, with twenty ships got to sea, and practised piracy on the coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surprised, Birthric sets forth with eighty ships; all which, driven back by a tempest and wrecked upon the shore, were burnt soon after by Wulnoth. Disheartened with this misfortune, the king returns to London, the rest of his navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon Turkill, a Danish earl, came with a navy to the isle of Tanet,[1] and in August a far greater, led by Heming and Ilaf, joined with him. Thence coasting to Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to assault Canterbury, but the citizens and East-Kentish men, coming to composition with them for three thousand pounds, they departed thence to the Isle of Wight, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the king levies an army through all the land, and in several quarters places them nigh the sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the Danes were not thereby hindered from exercising their wonted robberies. It happened that the Danes were one day gone up into the country far from their ships; the king having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantageous; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted loyalty among them. Edric with subtile arguments, that had

[9] Post Christ. 1008. Sim. Dun. [1] Post Christ. 1009. Sim. Dun

a show of deep policy, disputed and persuaded the simplicity of his fellow counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the Danes pass without ambush or interception. The Danes, where they expected danger finding none, passed on with great joy and booty to their ships. After this, sailing about Kent, they lay that winter in the Thames, forcing Kent and Essex to contribution, ofttimes attempting the city of London, but repulsed as oft to their great loss. Spring begun, leaving their ships, they passed through Chiltern wood into Oxfordshire,[2] burnt the city, and thence returning with divided forces, wasted on both sides the Thames, but hearing that an army from London was marched out against them, they on the north side passing the river at Stanes, joined with them on the south side into one body, and enriched with great spoils, came back through Surrey to their ships; which all the Lent-time they repaired. After Easter sailing to the East Angles they arrived at Ipswich, and came to a place called Ringmere, where they heard that Ulfketel with his forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertained them; but his men at length giving back, through the subtlety of a Danish servant among them who began the flight, lost the field, though the men of Cambridgeshire stood to it valiantly. In this battle Ethelstan, the king's son-in law, with many other noblemen, were slain; whereby the Danes, without more resistance, three months together had the spoiling of those countries and all the fens, burnt Thetford and Grantbrig, or Cambridge; thence to a hilly place not far off, called by Huntingdon, Balesham, by Camden, Gogmagog hills, and the villages thereabout, they turned their fury, slaying all they met save one man, who getting up into a steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole Danish army. They therefore so leaving him, their foot by sea, their horse by land through Essex, returned back laden to their ships left in the Thames. But many days passed not between, when sallying again out of their ships as out of savage dens, they plundered over again all Oxfordshire, and added to their prey Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertfordshire;[3] then like wild beasts glutted returned to their caves. A third excursion they made into Northamptonshire, burnt Northampton, ransacking the country round; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the

[2] Post Christ. 1010. Sim. Dun. Florent. [3] Huntingd.

West Saxons, and in like sort harassing all Wiltshire, returned, as I said before, like wild beasts or rather sea monsters to their water-stables, accomplishing by Christmas the circuit of their whole year's good deeds; an unjust and inhuman nation, who, receiving or not receiving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their livelihood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceased not, for the next year[4] repeating the same cruelties on both sides the Thames, one way as far as Huntingdon, the other as far as Wiltshire and Southampton, solicited again by the king for peace, and receiving their demands both of tribute and contribution, they slighted their faith; and in the beginning of September laid siege to Canterbury. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of Almere the archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacre as a sport; some they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members; infants, pulled from their mothers' breasts, were either tossed on spears, or carts drawn over them, matrons and virgins by the hair dragged and ravished. [5]Alfage the grave archbishop above others hated of the Danes, as in all counsels and actions to his might their known opposer, taken, wounded, imprisoned in a noisome ship; the multitude are tithed, and every tenth only spared. [6]Early the next year before Easter, while Ethelred and his peers were assembled at London, to raise now a fifth tribute amounting to forty-eight thousand pounds, the Danes at Canterbury propose to the archbishop,[7] who had been now seven months their prisoner, life and liberty, if he paid them three thousand pounds: which he refusing, as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his tenants, is permitted till the next Sunday to consider; then hauled before the council, of whom Turkill was chief, and still refusing, they rise, most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of their axes, then thrust forth to deliver him to be pelted with stones; till one Thurn a converted Dane, pitying him half dead, to put him out of pain, with a pious impiety, at one stroke of his axe on the head dispatched him. His body was carried to London, and there buried, thence afterwards removed to Canterbury By this time the tribute paid, and peace so often violated

[4] Post Christ 1011. Sim. Dun. [5] Eadmer. Malms. [6] Post Christ. 1012. Sim. Dun. [7] Eadmer.

sworn again by the Danes, they dispersed their fleet; forty-five of them, and Turkill their chief, staid at London with the king, swore him allegiance to defend his land against all strangers, on condition only to be fed and clothed by him. But this voluntary friendship of Turkill was thought to be deceitful, that staying under this pretence he gave intelligence to Swane, when most it would be seasonable to come. [8]In July therefore of the next year, King Swane arriving at Sandwich, made no stay there, but sailing first to Humber, thence into Trent, landed and encamped at Gainsburrow; whither without delay repaired to him the Northumbrians, with Uthred their earl; those of Lindsey also, then those of Fisburg, and lastly all on the north of Watlingstreet (which is a highway from east to west-sea) gave oath and hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded horses and provision for his army, taking with him besides bands and companies of their choicest men; and committing to his son Canute the care of his fleet and hostages, he marches towards the South-Mercians, commanding his soldiers to exercise all acts of hostility; with the terror whereof fully executed, he took in a few days the city of Oxford, then Winchester; thence tending to London, in his hasty passage over the Thames, without seeking bridge or ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his expedition against London prosperous; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the city, wherein the king then was, and Turkill with his Danes, he was stoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence back to Wallingford and Bath, directing his course, after usual havoc made, he sat awhile and refreshed his army. There Ethelm, an earl of Devonshire, and other great officers in the west, yielded him subjection. These things flowing to his wish, he betook him to his navy, from that time styled and accounted king of England; if a tyrant, saith Simeon, may be called a king. The Londoners also sent him hostages, and made their peace, for they feared his fury. Ethelred, thus reduced to narrow compass, sent Emma his queen, with his two sons had by her, and all his treasure, to Richard II, her brother, duke of Normandy; himself with his Danish fleet abode some while at Greenwich, then sailing to the Isle of Wight, passed after Christmas into Normandy; where he was honourably received at Roan by the duke, though known to have borne him-

[8] Post Christ 1013. Sim. Dun

self churlishly and proudly towards Emma his sister, besides his dissolute company with other women. Meanwhile Swane[3] ceased not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the people, spoiling them when he listed; besides, the like did Turkill at Greenwich. The next year beginning,[1] Swane sickens and dies; some say terrified and smitten by an appearing shape of St. Edmund armed, whose church at Bury he had threatened to demolish; but the authority hereof relies only upon the legend of St. Edmund. After his death the Danish army and fleet made his son Canute their king; but the nobility and states of England sent messengers to Ethelred, declaring that they preferred none before their native sovereign, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more clemency. Whereat the king rejoicing sends over his son Edward with ambassadors, to court both high and low, and win their love, promising largely to be their mild and devoted lord, to consent in all things to their will, follow their counsel, and whatever had been done or spoken by any man against him, freely to pardon, if they would loyally restore him to be their king. To this the people cheerfully answered, and amity was both promised and confirmed on both sides. An embassy of lords is sent to bring back the king honourably; he returns in Lent, and is joyfully received of the people, marches with a strong army against Canute; who having got horses and joined with the men of Lindsey, was preparing to make spoil in the countries adjoining; but by Ethelred unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driven to his ships, and his confederates of Lindsey, left to the anger of their countrymen, executed without mercy both by fire and sword. Canute in all haste sailing back to Sandwich, took the hostages given to his father from all parts of England, and with slit noses, ears cropped, and hands chopped off, setting them ashore, departed into Denmark. Yet the people were not disburdened, for the king raised out of them thirty thousand pounds to pay his fleet of Danes at Greenwich. To these evils the sea in October passed his bounds, overwhelming many towns in England, and of their inhabitants many thousands. [2]The year following, an assembly being at Oxford, Edric of Streon having invited two noblemen, Sigeferth and Morcar, the sons of Earngrun of Seaven-

[3] Malms. [1] Post Christ. 1014. Flm. Dun. Mat. West.
[2] Post. Christ. 1015. Sim. Dun.

burg, to his lodging, secretly murdered them; the king, for what cause is unknown, seized their estates, and caused Algith the wife of Sigef rth to be kept at Maidulfsburg now Malmsbury, whom Edmund the prince there married against his father's mind, then went and possessed their lands, making the people there subject to him. Mat. Westm. saith, that these two were of the Danes who had seated themselves in Northumberland, slain by Edric under colour of treason laid to their charge They who attended them without, tumulting at the death of their masters,[3] were beaten back; and driven into a church, defending themselves were burnt there in the steeple. Meanwhile Canute returning from Denmark with a great navy,[4] two hundred ships richly gilded and adorned, well fraught with arms and all provision; and, which Encomium Emmæ mentions not, two other kings, Lachman of Sweden, Olav of Norway, arrived at Sandwich: and, as the same author then living writes, sent out spies to discover what resistance on land was to be expected; who returned with a certain report, that a great army of English was in readiness to oppose them. Turkill, who upon the arrival of these Danish powers kept faith no longer with the English, but joining now with Canute,[5] as it were now to reingratiate himself after his revolt, whether real or complotted, counselled him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the management of this first battle: the king assented, and he with the forces which he had brought, and part of those which arrived with Canute, landing to their wish, encountered the English, though double in number, at a place called Scorastan, and was at first beaten back with much loss. But at length animating his men with rage only and despair, obtained a clear victory, which won him great reward and possessions from Canute. But of this action no other writer makes mention. From Sandwich therefore sailing about to the river Frome, and there landing, over all Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire he spread wasteful hostility.[6] The king lay then sick at Cosham in this county, though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his enemies. Howbeit Edmund in one part, and Edric of Streon in another, raised forces by themselves; but so soon as both armies were united, the traitor

[3] Malms. [4] Leges Edw. Conf. Tit. deduct. Norm. [5] Encom. Em. [6] Camd.

Edric being found to practise against the life of Edmund, he removed with his army from him, whereof the enemy took great advantage. Edric easily enticing the forty ships of Danes to side with them, revolted to Canute: the West Saxons also gave pledges, and furnished him with horses. By which means the[7] year ensuing, he with Edric the traitor passing the Thames at Creclad, about twelfthtide, entered into Mercia, and especially Warwickshire, depopulating all places in their way. Against these prince Edmund, for his hardiness called Ironside, gathered an army; but the Mercians refused to fight unless Ethelred with the Londoners came to aid them; and so every man returned home. After the festival, Edmund, gathering another army, besought his father to come with the Londoners, and what force besides he was able; they came with great strength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good success, it was told the king, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own forces would fall off and betray him. The king daunted with this perhaps cunning whisper of the enemy, disbanding his army, returns to London. Edmund betook him into Northumberland, as some thought to raise fresh forces; but he with earl Uthred on the one side, and Canute with Edric on the other, did little else but waste the provinces; Canute to conquer them, Edmund to punish them who stood neuter: for which cause Stafford, Shropshire, and Leicestershire, felt heavily his hand; while Canute, who was ruining the more southern shires, at length marched into Northumberland, which Edmund hearing dismissed his forces, and came to London. Uthred the earl hasted back to Northumberland, and finding no other remedy, submitted himself with all the Northumbrians, giving hostages to Canute. Nevertheless by his command or connivance, and the hand of one Turebrand a Danish lord, Uthred was slain, and Iric another Dane made earl in his stead. This Uthred, son of Walteof, as Simeon writes, in his treatise of the siege of Durham, in his youth obtained a great victory against Malcolm, son of Kened king of Scots, who with the whole power of his kingdom was fallen into Northumberland, and laid siege to Durham. Walteof the old earl, unable to resist, had secured himself in Bebbanburg, a strong town; but Uthred gathering an army raised the siege, slew most of the

[7] Post Christ. 1016. Sim. Dun.

Scots, their king narrowly escaping, and with the heads of their slain fixed upon poles beset round the walls of Durham. The year of this exploit Simeon clears not, for in 969, and in the reign of Ethelred, as he affirms, it could not be. Canute by another way returning southward, joyful of his success, before Easter came back with all the army to his fleet. About the end of April ensuing, Ethelred, after a long, troublesome, and ill-governed reign, ended his days at London, and was buried in the church of St. Paul.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

After the decease of Ethelred, they of the nobility who were then at London, together with the citizens, chose[8] Edmund his son (not by Emma, but a former wife the daughter of Earl Thored) in his father's room; but the archbishops, abbots, and many of the nobles assembling together, elected Canute; and coming to Southampton where he then remained, renounced before him all the race of Ethelred, and swore him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both religious and secular, to be their faithful lord. [9]But Edmund, with all speed going to the West-Saxons, was joyfully received of them as their king, and of many other provinces by their example. Meanwhile Canute about mid May came with his whole fleet up the river to London; then causing a great dike to be made on the Surrey side, turned the stream, and drew his ships thither west of the bridge; then begirting the city with a broad and deep trench, assailed it on every side; but repulsed as before by the valorous defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his army for the defence of his ships, with the rest sped him to the West-Saxons, ere Edmund could have time to assemble all his powers; who yet with such as were at hand, invoking divine aid, encountered the Danes at Pen by Gillingham in Dorsetshire, and put him to flight. After midsummer, increased with new forces, he met with him again at a place called Sherastan, now Sharstan; but Edric, Almar, and Algar, with the Hampshire and Wiltshire men, then siding with the Danes, he only maintained the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Daylight returning renewed the conflict, wherein

[8] Florent. Aelred in the life of Edw. Conf. [9] Florent. Sim. Dun.

the Danes appearing inferiour, Edric to dishearten the English cuts off the head of one Osmer, in countenance and hair somewhat resembling the king, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that Edmund being slain, and this his head, it was time for them to fly; which fallacy Edmund perceiving, and openly showing himself to his soldiers, by a spear thrown at Edric, that missing him yet slew one next him,[1] and through him another behind, they recovered heart, and lay sore upon the Danes till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, Canute, sensible of his loss, marched away by stealth to his ships at London, renewing there his leaguer. Some would have this battle at Sherastan the same with that at Scorastan before mentioned, but the circumstance of time permits not, that having been before the landing of Canute, this a good while after, as by the process of things appears. From Sherastan or Sharstan Edmund returned to the West-Saxons, whose valour Edric fearing lest it might prevail against the Danes, sought pardon of his revolt, and obtaining it swore loyalty to the king, who now the third time coming with an army from the West-Saxons to London, raised the siege, chasing Canute and his Danes to their ships. Then after two days passing the Thames at Brentford, and so coming on their backs, kept them so turned, and obtained the victory; then returns again to his West-Saxons, and Canute to his siege, but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he entered with his ships a river then called Arenne; and from the banks thereof wasted Mercia; thence their horse by land, their foot by ship came to Medway. Edmund in the mean while with multiplied forces out of many shires crossing again at Brentford, came into Kent, seeking Canute; encountered him at Otford, and so defeated, that of his horse they who had escaped fled to the isle of Sheppey; and a full victory he had gained, had not Edric still the traitor by some wile or other detained his pursuit: and Edmund, who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be so misled, ever after forsaken of his wonted fortune. Canute crossing with his army into Essex, thence wasted Mercia worse than before, and with heavy prey returned to his ships: them Edmund with a collected army pursuing overtook at a place called Assandune or Asseshill,[2] now Ashdown in Essex; the battle on either side was fought

[1] Malms. [2] Camd.

with great vehemence; but perfidious Edric perceiving the victory to incline towards Edmund, with that part of the army which was under him fled, as he had promised Canute, and left the king overmatched with numbers: by which desertion the English were overthrown, duke Alfric, duke Godwin, and Ulfketel the valiant duke of East-Angles, with a great part of the nobility slain, so as the English of a long time had not received a greater blow. Yet after a while Edmund, not absurdly called Ironside, preparing again to try his fortune in another field, was hindered by Edric and others of his faction, advising him to make peace and divide the kingdom with Canute. To which Edmund overruled, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually given, both kings met together at a place called Deorhurst in Gloucestershire: [3]Edmund on the west side of Severn, Canute on the east, with their armies, then both in person wafted into an island, at that time called Olanege,[4] now Alney, in the midst of the river; swearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the kingdom between them. Then interchanging arms and the habit they wore, assessing also what pay should be allotted to the navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cause thereof others write otherwise; Malmsbury, that Edmund grieving at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to Canute, offering him single combat, to prevent in their own cause the effusion of more blood than their own; that Canute, though of courage enough, yet not unwisely doubting to adventure his body of small timber, against a man of iron sides, refused the combat, offering to divide the kingdom. This offer pleasing both armies, Edmund was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his hereditary kingdom should rule the West-Saxons and all the South, Canute the Mercians and the North. Huntingdon followed by Mat. Westm. relates, that the peers on every side wearied out with continual warfare, and not refraining to affirm openly that they two who expected to reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the kings were content; the island was their lists, the combat knightly; till Knute, finding himself too weak, began to parley, which ended as is said before. After which the Londoners bought their peace of the Danes, and

[3] Camd. [4] Camd.

permitted them to winter in the city. But king Edmund about the feast of St. Andrew unexpectedly deceased at London, and was buried near to Edgar his grandfather at Glaston. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common fame, saith Malmsbury, lays the guilt thereof upon Edric, who to please Canute, allured with promise of reward two of the king's privy chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the stool, by thrusting a sharp iron into his hinder parts. Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. relate it done at Oxford by the son of Edric, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital. Edmund dead, Canute meaning to reign sole king of England, calls to him all the dukes, barons, and bishops of the land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and Edmund dividing the kingdom, whether the sons and brothers of Edmund were to govern the West-Saxons after him, Canute living? They who understood his meaning, and feared to undergo his anger, timorously answered, that Edmund they knew had left no part thereof to his sons or brethren, living or dying; but that he intended Canute should be their guardian, till they came to age of reigning. Simeon affirms, that for fear or hope of reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which, he put many of them to death not long after.

CANUTE, OR KNUTE.

CANUTE having thus sounded the nobility,[5] and by them understood, received their oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and oath from the Danish nobles; whereupon the house of Edmund was renounced, and Canute crowned. Then they enacted, that Edwi brother of Edmund, a prince of great hope, should be banished the realm. But Canute, not thinking himself secure while Edwi lived, consulted with Edric how to make him away; who told him of one Ethelward a decayed nobleman, likeliest to do the work. Ethelward sent for, and tempted by the king in private with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promised to do it when he saw his opportunity, and so still he deferred it. But Edwi afterwards received into favour, as a snare, was by him, or some other of his false friends, Canute contriving it, the same year slain.

[5] Post Christ. 1017. Sim. Dun. Sax. an.

Edric also counselled him to dispatch Edward and Edmund, the sons of Ironside; but the king doubting that the fact would seem too foul done in England, sent them to the king of Sweden, with like intent, but he, disdaining the office, sent them for better safety to Salomon king of Hungary; where Edmund at length died, but Edward married Agatha daughter to Henry the German emperor. A digression in the laws of Edward Confessor under the title of Lex Noricorum saith, that this Edward, for fear of Canute, fled of his own accord to Malesclot king of the Rugians, who received him honourably, and of that country gave him a wife. Canute, settled in his throne, divided the government of his kingdom into four parts; the West-Saxons to himself, the East-Angles to earl Turkill, the Mercians to Edric, the Northumbrians to Iric; then made peace with all princes round about him, and, his former wife being dead, in July married Emma, the widow of king Ethelred. The Christmas following was an ill feast to Edric, of whose treason the king having now made use as much as served his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betrayed, caused him to be slain at London in the palace, thrown over the city wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of Edric fixed on a pole, he commanded to be set on the highest tower of London, as in a double sense he had promised him for the murder of king Edmund to exalt him above all the peers of England. Huntingdon, Malmesbury, and Mat. Westm. write, that suspecting the king's intention to degrade him from his Mercian dukedom, and upbraiding him with his merits, the king enraged caused him to be strangled in the room, and out at a window thrown into the Thames. Another writes,[6] that Eric at the king's command struck off his head. Other great men, though without fault, as duke Norman the son of Leofwin, Ethelward son of duke Agelmar, he put to death at the same time, jealous of their power or familiarity with Edric: and notwithstanding peace, kept still his army; to maintain which, the next year[7] he squeezed out of the English, though now his subjects, not his enemies, seventy-two, some say, eighty-two thousand pounds, besides fifteen thousand out of London. Meanwhile great war arose at Carr, between Uthred son of Waldef, earl of Northumberland, and Malcolm son of Kened king of Scots, with whom held Euge-

[6] Encom. Em. Ingulf. [7] Post Christ. 1018. Sim. Dun. Huntingd. Mat. West.

nius king of Lothian. But here Simeon the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain Uthred by Canute two years before, and set Iric in his place. Iric therefore it must needs be, not Uthred, who managed this war against the Scots. About which time at a convention of Danes at Oxford, it was agreed on both parties to keep the laws of Edgar; Mat. Westm. saith of Edward the Elder. The next[5] year Canute sailed into Denmark, and there abode all winter. Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. say, he went thither to repress the Swedes; and that the night before a battle was fought with them, Godwin, stealing out of the camp with his English, assaulted the Swedes, and had got the victory ere Canute in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprise, though against discipline, he had the English in more esteem ever after. In the spring, at his return into England,[9] he held in the time of Easter a great assembly at Chichester, and the same year was with Turkill the Dane at the dedication of a church by them built at Assendune, in the place of that great victory which won him the crown. But suspecting his greatness, the year following banished him the realm, and found occasion to do the like by Iric the Northumbrian earl upon the same jealousy. [1]Nor yet content with his conquest of England, though now above ten years enjoyed, he passed with fifty ships into Norway, dispossessed Olave their king, and subdued the land,[2] first with great sums of money sent the year before to gain him a party, then coming with an army to compel the rest. Thence returning king of England, Denmark, and Norway, yet not secure in his mind,[3] under colour of an embassy sent into banishment Hacun a powerful Dane, who had married the daughter of his sister Gunildis, having conceived some suspicion of his practices against him: but such course was taken, that he never came back; either perishing at sea, or slain by contrivance the next[4] year in Orkney. Canute therefore having thus established himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, sailing[5] again into Denmark, went thence to Rome, and offered there to St. Peter great gifts of gold and

[5] Post Christ. 1019, Sim. Dun.
[1] Post Christ. 1021. Sim. Dun. Malms.
[2] Post Christ. 1029 Sim. Dun.
[3] Post Christ. 1031 Sim. Dun.
[9] Post Christ 1020 Sim. Dun.
[2] Post Christ. 1028. Sim Dun.
[4] Post Christ. 1030. Sim. Dun.

silver, and othe precious things; besides the usual tribute o Romscot, giving great alms by the way,[6] both thither an back again, freeing many places of custom and toll with grea expense, where strangers were wont to pay, having vowe great amendment of life at the sepulchre of Peter and Paul, and to his whole people in a large letter written from Rom yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a church to St. Edmund at Bury, whom his ancestors had slain,[7] threw out the secular priests, who had intruded there, and placed monks in their stead, then going into Scotland,[8] subdued and received homage of Malcolm, and two other kings there, Melbeath and Jernare. Three years[9] after, having made Swane, his supposed son by Algiva of Northampton, duke Aifhelm's daughter, (for others say the son of a priest, whom Algiva barren[1] had got ready at the time of her feigned labour, king of Norway, and Hardecnute, his son by Emma, king of Denmark; and designed Harold, his son by Algiva of Northampton, king of England; died[2] at Shaftsbury, and was buried at Winchester in the old monastery. This king, as appears, ended better than he began, for though he seems to have had no hand in the death of Ironside, but detested the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, delivered them to deserved punishment, yet he spared Edric, whom he knew to be the prime author of that detestable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importun upon the confidence of his merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquished, then extinguished, Edmund for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with a changed countenance, "Traitor to God and me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee, to have slain thy master my confederate brother, and the Lord's anointed." [3]Whereupon although present and private execution was in rage done upon Edric, yet he himself in cool blood scrupled not to make away the brother and children of Edmund, who had better right to be the Lord's anointed here than himself. When he had obtained in England what he desired, no wonder if he sought the love of his conquered subjects for the love of his own

[6] Huntingd. [7] Post Christ. 1032. Sim Dun. [8] Huntingd.
[9] Post Christ. 1035. Sim. Dun. [1] Florent. [2] Florent. [3] Malms.

quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and state for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married Emma, and that Richard duke of Normandy her brother might the less care what became of Alfred and Edward, her sons by king Ethelred. He commanded to be observed the ancient Saxon laws, called afterwards the laws of Edward the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observed them. His letter from Rome professes, if he had done aught amiss in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his officers and viscounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any person, or to enrich the king, they suffer injustice to be done in the land; commands his treasurers to pay all his debts ere his return home, which was by Denmark, to compose matters there, and what his letter professed, he performed all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attained the utmost of their ambitions and desires; then to think God appeased by their seeking to bribe him with a share, however large, of their ill gotten spoils; and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit Canute was famous through Europe, and much honoured of Conrade the emperor, then at Rome, with rich gifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from toll and custom. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as Huntingdon reports it, with great scene of circumstance, and emphatical expression, to shew the small power of kings in respect of God, which, unless to court-parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caused his royal seat to be set on the shore, while the tide was coming in; and with all the state that royalty could put into his countenance, said thus to the sea; "Thou, Sea, belongest to me, and the land whereon I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunished resisted my commands: I charge thee come no further upon my land, neither presume to wet the feet of thy sovereign lord." But the sea, as before, came rolling on, and without reverence both wet and dashed him. Whereat the king quickly rising wished all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous power of a king, and that none indeed deserved the

name of king, but he whose eternal laws both heaven, earth, and sea obey. A truth so evident of itself, as I said before, that unless to shame his court-flatterers, who would not else be convinced, Canute needed not to have gone wetshod home: the best is, from that time forth he never would wear a crown, esteeming earthly royalty contemptible and vain.

HAROLD.

HAROLD, for his swiftness surnamed Harefoot,[4] the son of Canute by Algiva of Northampton, (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a shoemaker's wife, as Swane before of a priest; others of a maidservant, to conceal her barrenness,) in a great assembly at Oxford was by duke Leofric and the Mercians, with the Londoners, according to his father's testament, elected king;[5] but without the regal habiliments, which Ælnot, the archbishop, having in his custody, refused to deliver up, but to the sons of Emma, for which Harold ever after hated the clergy, and (as the clergy are wont thence to infer) all religion. Godwin earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons with him, stood for Hardecnute. Malmsbury saith, that the contest was between Dane and English; that the Danes and Londoners grown now in a manner Danish, were all for Hardecnute: but he being then in Denmark, Harold prevailed, yet so as that the kingdom should be divided between them; the west and south part reserved by Emma for Hardecnute till his return. But Harold, once advanced into the throne, banished Emma his mother-in-law, seized on his father's treasure at Winchester, and there remained. [6]Emma, not holding it safe to abide in Normandy while duke William the bastard was yet under age, retired to Baldwin earl of Flanders. In the mean while Elfrid and Edward, sons of Ethelred, accompanied with a small number of Norman soldiers in a few ships, coming to visit their mother Emma not yet departed the land, and perhaps to see how the people were inclined to restore them their right, Elfred was sent for by the king then at London; but in his way met at Guilford by earl Godwin, who with all seeming friendship entertained him, was in the night surprised and made prisoner, most of

[4] Florent. Brompton Huntingd. Mat. West. [5] Encom. Em.
[6] Post Christ. 1036. Sim. Dun.

his company put to various sorts of cruel death, decimated twice over; then brought to London, was by the king sent bound to Ely, had his eyes put out by the way, and delivered to the monks there, died soon after in their custody. Malmsbury gives little credit to this story of Elfred, as not chronicled in his time, but rumoured only. Which Emma however hearing, sent away her son Edward, who by good hap accompanied not his brother, with all speed into Normandy. But the author of "Encomium Emmæ," who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some monk, yet lived, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation, differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of Harold, that he, not content to have practised in secret (for openly he durst not) against the life of Emma, sought many treacherous ways to get her son within his power; and resolved at length to forge a letter in the name of their mother, inviting them into England, the copy of which letter he produces written to this purpose.

"Emma, in name only queen, to her sons Edward and Elfred imparts motherly salutation. While we severally bewail the death of our lord the king, most dear sons! and while daily you are deprived more and more of the kingdom your inheritance; I admire what counsel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay is a daily strengthening to the reign of your usurper, who incessantly goes about from town to city, gaining the chief nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the power of him who now overrules them. I entreat therefore, that one of you come to me speedily, and privately, to receive from me wholesome counsel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplished. By this messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, as dear both as my own heart."

These letters were sent to the princes, then in Normandy, by express messengers, with presents also as from their mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. Elfred therefore the younger (for so it

was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few ships and small numbers about him, appearing on the coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of earl Godwin, sent on purpose to betray him, as above was related. Emma greatly sorrowing for the loss of her son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the nobles her faithfullest adherents into Flanders, had her dwelling assigned at Bruges by the earl; where having remained about two years,[7] she was visited out of Denmark by Hardecnute her son; and he not long had remained with her there, when Harold in England, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the tax of every port at eight marks of silver to sixteen ships, died at London, some say at Oxford, and was buried at Winchester. [8]After which, most of the nobility, both Danes and English now agreeing, send ambassadors to Hardecnute still at Bruges with his mother, entreating him to come and receive as his right the sceptre; who before midsummer came with sixty ships, and many soldiers out of Denmark.

HARDECNUTE.

HARDECNUTE received with acclamation, and seated in the throne, first called to mind the injuries done to him or his mother Emma in the time of Harold; sent Alfric, archbishop of York, Godwin, and others, with Troud his executioner, to London, commanding them to dig up the body of King Harold and throw it into a ditch; but by a second order, into the Thames. Whence taken up by a fisherman, and conveyed to a churchyard in London belonging to the Danes, it was interred again with honour. This done, he levied a sore tax, that eight marks to every rower, and twelve to every officer in his fleet, should be paid throughout England: by which time they who were so forward to call him over had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he called to account Godwin earl of Kent, and Leving bishop of Worcester, about the death of Elfred his half brother, which Alfric the archbishop laid to their charge; the king deprived Leving of his bishopric, and gave it to his accuser; but the year following, pacified with a round sum, restored him

[7] Post Christ 1039 Sim. Dun. Huntingd. [8] Post Christ. 1040. Sim. Dun. Malms.

to Leving. [1] Godwin made his peace by a sumptuous present, a galley with a gilded stem bravely rigged, and eighty soldiers in her, every one with bracelets of gold on each arm, weighing sixteen ounces, helmet, corslet, and hilts of his sword gilded; a Danish curtaxe, listed with gold or silver, hung on his left shoulder, a shield with boss and nails gilded in his left hand, in his right a lance, besides this, he took his oath before the king, that neither of his own counsel or will, but by the command of Harold, he had done what he did, to the putting out Elfred's eyes. The like oath took most of the nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. [2] The next year Hardecnute sending his house-carles, so they called his officers, to gather the tribute imposed; two of them, rigorous in their office, were slain at Worcester by the people; whereat the king enraged sent Leofric duke of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with great forces and commission to slay the citizens, rifle and burn the city, and waste the whole province. Affrighted with such news, all the people fled; the countrymen whither they could, the citizens to a small island in Severn, called Beverege, which they fortified and defended stoutly till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their city they found sacked and burnt; wherewith the king was appeased. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half-brethren, though rivals of his crown, he shewed himself always tenderly affectioned: as now towards Edward, who without fear came to him out of Normandy, and with unfeigned kindness received, remained safely and honourably in his court. [2] But Hardecnute the year following, at a feast wherein Osgod a great Danish lord gave his daughter in marriage at Lambeth to Prudon another potent Dane, in the midst of his mirth, sound and healthful to sight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at Winchester beside his father. He was it seems a great lover of good cheer; sitting at table four times a day, with great variety of dishes and superfluity to all comers. Whereas, saith Huntingdon, in our time princes in their houses made but one meal a day. He gave his sister Gunildis, a virgin of rare beauty, in marriage to Henry the Roman emperor; and to send her forth pompously, all the nobility contributed their jewels and richest ornaments. But

Malms. [1] Post Christ. 1041 Sim. Dun. [2] Post Christ 1042. Sim. Dun

it may seem a wonder, that our historians, if they deserve t name, should in a matter so remarkable, and so near th own time, so much differ. Huntingdon relates, against t credit of all other records, that Hardecnute thus dead, t English rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the Dan yoke, sent over to Elfred, the elder son of Emma by Ki Ethelred, of whom we heard but now that he died a prison at Ely, sent thither by Harold six years before; that h came now out of Normandy, with a great number of me to receive the crown; that earl Godwin, aiming to have h daughter queen of England, by marrying her to Edward simple youth, for he thought Elfred of a higher spirit than accept her, persuaded the nobles that Elfred had brought ov too many Normans, had promised them land here, that it w not safe to suffer a warlike and subtle nation to take root in th land, that these were to be so handled as none of them migh dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relatio to the king: thereupon by common consent of the nobles, bot Elfred and his company were dealt with as was above related that they then sent for Edward out of Normandy, with ho tages to be left there of their faithful intentions to make hi king, and their desires not to bring over with him many No mans; that Edward at their call came then first out of No mandy; whereas all others agree, that he came voluntaril over to visit Hardecnute, as is before said, and was remaining then in court at the time of his death. For Hardecnute dea saith Malmsbury, Edward, doubting greatly his own safety determined to rely wholly on the advice and favour of ea Godwin; desiring therefore by messengers to have privat speech with him, the earl a while deliberated: at last assem ing, prince Edward came, and would have fallen at his feet but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein h thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besough his help, to convey him some whither out of the land. God win soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it wer prompted him how to advance himself and his family, cheer fully exhorted him to remember himself the son of Ethelred the grandchild of Edgar, right heir to the crown at full age not to think of flying, but of reigning, which might easily be brought about, if he would follow his counsel; then setting forth the power and authority which he had in England

promised it should be all his to set him on the throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his house, and to marry his daughter. Edward, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to whatever Godwin required. An assembly of states thereupon met at Gillingham, where Edward pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of Godwin was accepted. Others, as Brompton, with no probability write, that Godwin at this time was fled into Denmark, for what he had done to Elfred, returned and submitted himself to Edward then king, was by him charged openly with the death of Elfred, and not without much ado, by the intercession of Leofric and other peers, received at length into favour.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Glad were the English delivered so unexpectedly from their Danish masters, and little thought how near another conquest was hanging over them. Edward, the Easter following,[1] crowned at Winchester, the same year accompanied with earl Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, came again thither on a sudden, and by their counsel seized on the treasure of his mother Emma. The cause alleged is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have loved Ethelred her former husband, and thereafter the children by him, she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to monasteries. [2]About this time also king Edward, according to promise, took to wife Edith or Egith, earl Godwin's daughter, commended much for beauty, modesty, and beyond what is requisite in a woman, learning. Ingulf, then a youth lodging in the court with his father, saw her oft, and coming from the school, was sometimes met by her and posed, not in grammar only, but in logic. Edward the next year but one[3] made ready a strong navy at Sandwich against Magnus king of Norway, who threatened an invasion, had not Swane king of Denmark diverted him by a war at home to defend his own land;[4] not out of good will to Edward, as may be supposed, who at the same time expressed none to the Danes, banishing Gunildis the

[1] Post Christ. 1043. Sim. Dun. [2] Malms. [3] Post Christ. 1045 Sim. Dun [4] Post Christ. 1046. Sim. Dun

niece of Canute with her two sons, and Osgod by surname Clapa, out of the realm. [5]Swane, overpowered by Magnus, sent the next year to entreat aid of king Edward; Godwin gave counsel to send him fifty ships fraught with soldiers; but Leofric and the general voice gainsaying, none were sent. [6]The next year Harold Harvager, king of Norway, sending ambassadors, made peace with king Edward, but an earthquake at Worcester and Derby, pestilence and famine in many places, much lessened the enjoyment thereof. [7]The next year Henry the emperor, displeased with Baldwin earl of Flanders, had straitened him with a great army by land; and sending to king Edward, desired him with his ships to hinder what he might his escape by sea. The king therefore, with a great navy coming to Sandwich, there staid till the emperor came to an agreement with earl Baldwin. Meanwhile Swane son of earl Godwin, who, not permitted to marry Edgiva the abbess of Chester by him deflowered, had left the land, came out of Denmark with eight ships, feigning a desire to return into the king's favour; and Beorn his cousin german, who commanded part of the king's navy, promised to intercede, that his earldom might be restored him. Godwin therefore and Beorn with a few ships, the rest of the fleet gone home, coming to Pevensey (but Godwin soon departed thence in pursuit of twenty-nine Danish ships, which had got much booty on the coast of Essex, and perished by tempest in their return), Swane with his ships comes to Beorn at Pevensey, guilefully requests him to sail with him to Sandwich, and reconcile him to the king, as he had promised. Beorn mistrusting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his ship attended by three only of his servants: but Swane, set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the king, took Beorn now in his power, and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, slew and buried him in a deep ditch. After which the men of Hastings took six of his ships, and brought them to the king at Sandwich; with the other two he escaped into Flanders, there remaining till Aldred bishop of Worcester by earnest mediation wrought his peace with the king. [8]About this time king Edward sent to pope Leo, desiring absolution from a vow which he had made in his younger years, to take

[5] Post Christ. 1047. Sim. Dun. [6] Post Christ. 1048. Sim. Dun.
[7] Post. Christ. 1049. Sim. Dun. [8] Malms.

a journey to Rome, if God vouchsafed him to reign in England; the pope dispensed with his vow, but not without the expense of his journey given to the poor, and a monastery built or re-edified to St. Peter, who in a vision to a monk, as is said, chose Westminster, which king Edward thereupon rebuilding, endowed with large privileges and revenues. The same year, saith Florent of Worcester, certain Irish pirates with thirty-six ships entered the mouth of Severn, and with the aid of Griffin prince of South Wales, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the river Wye, burnt Dunedham, and slew all the inhabitants they found. Against whom Aldred bishop of Worcester, with a few out of Gloucester and Herefordshire, went out in haste: but Griffin, to whom the Welsh and Irish had privily sent messengers, came down upon the English with his whole power by night, and early in the morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. [1]The next year but one, king Edward remitted the Danish tax which had continued thirty-eight years heavy upon the land since Ethelred first paid it to the Danes, and what remained thereof in his treasury he sent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the English; while studying gratitude to those Normans, who to him in exile had been helpful, he called them over to public offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purse: by this means exasperating either nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman conquest. Robert a monk of that country, who had been serviceable to him there in time of need, he made bishop, first of London, then of Canterbury; William his chaplain, bishop of Dorchester. Then began the English to lay aside their own ancient customs, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great peers to speak French in their houses, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility, ashamed of their own: a presage of their subjection shortly to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly. But that which gave beginning to many troubles ensuing happened this year, and upon this occasion. [1]Eustace earl of Boloign, father to the famous Godfrey who won Jerusalem from the Saracens, and husband to Goda the king's sister,

[1] Post Christ. 1051. Sim. Dun. Ingulf. [1] Malms.

having been to visit king Edward, and returning by Canterbury to take ship at Dover, one of his harbingers, insolently seeking to lodge by force in a house there, provoked so the master thereof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The count, with his whole train going to the house where his servant had been killed, slew both the slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the townsmen running to arms requited him with the slaughter of twenty more of his servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping, ran back with clamour to the king; whom, seconded by other Norman courtiers, he stirred up to great anger against the citizens of Canterbury. Earl Godwin in haste is sent for, the cause related and much aggravated by the king against that city, the earl commanded to raise forces, and use the citizens thereof as enemies. Godwin, sorry to see strangers more favoured of the king than his native people, answered, that "it were better to summon first the chief men of the town into the king's court, to charge them with sedition, where both parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted: if otherwise, by fine or loss of life might satisfy the king, whose peace they had broken, and the count whom they had injured; till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile punishment them of his own country unheard, whom his office was rather to defend." The king, displeased with his refusal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an assembly of all the peers to be held at Gloucester, where the matter might be fully tried; the assembly was full and frequent according to summons: but Godwin mistrusting his own cause, or the violence of his adversaries, with his two sons, Swane and Harold, and a great power gathered out of his own and his sons' earldoms, which contained most of the south-east and west parts of England, came no farther than Bevestan, giving out that their forces were to go against the Welsh, who intended an irruption into Herefordshire; and Swane under that pretence lay with part of his army thereabout. The Welsh understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before the king, left Godwin detected of false accusation in great hatred to all the assembly. Leofric therefore and Siward, dukes of great power, the former in Mercia, the other in all parts beyond Humber, both ever faithful to

the king, send privily with speed to raise the forces of their provinces. Which Godwin not knowing, sent bold to king Edward, demanding count Eustace and his followers, together with those Bolognians, who, as Simeon writes, held a castle in the jurisdiction of Canterbury. The king, as then having but little force at hand, entertained him a while with treaties and delays, till his summoned army drew nigh, then rejected demands. Godwin, thus matched, commanded his sons not to begin fight against the king; begun with, not to give ground. The king's forces were the flower of those counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: but Leofric and the wiser sort, detesting civil war,[2] brought the matter to this accord; that hostages given on either side, the cause should be again debated at London. Thither the king and lords coming with their army, sent to Godwin and his sons (who with their powers were come as far as Southwark) commanding their appearance unarmed with only twelve attendants, and that the rest of their soldiers they should deliver over to the king. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction denied; but to dismiss their soldiers refused not, nor in aught else to obey the king as far as might stand with honour and the just regard of their safety. This answer not pleasing the king, an edict was presently issued forth, that Godwin and his sons within five days depart the land. He, who perceived now his numbers to diminish, readily obeyed, and with his wife and three sons, Tosti, Swane, and Gyrtha, with as much treasure as their ship could carry, embarked at Thorney, sailed into Flanders to earl Baldwin, whose daughter Judith Tosti had married: for Wulnod his fourth son was then a hostage to the king in Normandy; his other two, Harold and Leofwin, taking ship at Bristow, in a vessel that lay ready there belonging to Swane, passed into Ireland. King Edward, pursuing his displeasure, divorced his wife Edith earl Godwin's daughter, sending her despoiled of all her ornaments to Warewel with one waiting-maid; to be kept in custody by his sister the abbess there. [3]His reason of so doing was as harsh as his act, that she only, while her nearest relations were in banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home. After this, William duke of Normandy, with a great number of followers coming into England, was

[2] Sim. Dun. [3] Malmes.

by king Edward honourably entertained, and led about the cities and castles, as it were to show him what ere long was to be his own, (though at that time, saith Ingulf, no mention thereof passed between them) then, after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismissed, he returned home. [4]The next year queen Emma died, and was buried at Winchester. The chronicle attributed to John Brompton a Yorkshire abbot, but rather of some nameless author living under Edward III., or later, reports that the year before, by Robert the archbishop she was accused both of consenting to the death of her son Alfred, and of preparing poison for Edward also, lastly of too much familiarity with Alwin bishop of Winchester: that to approve her innocence, praying overnight to St. Swithune, she offered to pass blindfold between certain ploughshares redhot, according to the ordalian law, which without harm she performed; that the king thereupon received her to honour, and from her and the bishop, penance for his credulity; that the archbishop, ashamed of his accusation, fled out of England: which, besides the silence of ancienter authors (for the bishop fled not till a year after), brings the whole story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be proved, that in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning ploughshares, queen Emma gave to the abbey of St. Swithune nine manors, and bishop Alwin other nine. About this time Griffin prince of South Wales wasted Herefordshire; to oppose whom the people of that country, with many Normans, garrisoned in the castle of Hereford, went out in arms, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driven away by the Welsh. Soon after which Harold and Leofwin, sons of Godwin, coming into Severn with many ships, in the confines of Somerset and Dorsetshire, spoiled many villages, and resisted by those of Somerset and Devonshire, slew in a fight more than thirty of their principal men, many of the common sort, and returned with much booty to their fleet. [5]King Edward on the other side made ready above sixty ships at Sandwich well stored with men and provisions, under the conduct of Odo and Radulph two of his Norman kindred, enjoining them to find out Godwin, whom he heard to be at sea. To quicken them, he himself lay on shipboard, ofttimes watched and sailed up and down in search

[4] Post Christ. 1052 Sim Dun. [5] Malms.

of those pirates. But Godwin, whether in a mist, or by accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of Kent, and dispersing several messengers abroad, by fair words allured the chief men of Kent, Surrey, and Essex, to his party; which news coming to the king's fleet at Sandwich, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without effect to London. Godwin, advertised of this, forthwith sailed to the Isle of Wight; where at length his two sons Harold and Leofwin finding him, with their united navy lay on the coast, forbearing other hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh victuals from land as they needed. Thence as one fleet they set forward to Sandwich, using all fair means by the way to increase their numbers both of mariners and soldiers. The king then at London, startled at these tidings, gave speedy order to raise forces in all parts that had not revolted from him, but now too late, for Godwin within a few days after with his ships or galleys came up the river Thames to Southwark, and till the tide returned had conference with the Londoners; whom by fair speeches (for he was held a good speaker in those times) he brought to his bent. The tide returned, and none upon the bridge hindering, he rowed up in his galleys along the south bank, where his land-army, now come to him, in array of battle now stood on the shore; then turning toward the north side of the river, where the king's galleys lay in some readiness, and land forces also not far off, he made show as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the soldiers on either side soon declared their resolution not to fight English against English. Thence coming to treaty, the king and the earl reconciled, both armies were dissolved, Godwin and his sons restored to their former dignities, except Swane, who, touched in conscience for the slaughter of Beorn his kinsman, was gone barefoot to Jerusalem, and, returning home, died by sickness or Saracens in Lycia; his wife Edith, Godwin's daughter, king Edward took to him again, dignified as before. Then were the Normans, who had done most unjust things under the king's authority, and given him ill counsel against his people, banished the realm; some of them, not blameable, permitted to stay. Robert archbishop of Canterbury, William of London, Ulf of Lincoln, all Normans, hardly escaping with their followers, got to sea. The archbishop went with his complaint to Rome,

but returning died in Normandy at the same monastery from whence he came. Osbern and Hugh surrendered their castles, and by permission of Leofric passed through his countries with their Normans to Macbeth king of Scotland. [6]The year following, Rhese, brother to Griffin, prince of South Wales, who by inroads had done much damage to the English, taken at Bulendun, was put to death by the king's appointment, and his head brought to him at Gloucester. The same year at Winchester, on the second holyday of Easter, earl Godwin, sitting with the king at table, sunk down suddenly in his seat as dead: his three sons, Harold, Tosti, and Girtha, forthwith carried him into the king's chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had so seized him, that the fifth day after he expired. The Normans who hated Godwin gave out, saith Malmsbury, that mention happening to be made of Elfred, and the king thereat looking sourly upon Godwin, he, to vindicate himself, uttered these words: "Thou, O king, at every mention made of thy brother Elfred, lookest frowningly upon me; but let God not suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I be guilty of aught done against his life or thy advantage;" that after these words, choaked with the morsel taken, he sunk down and recovered not. His first wife was the sister of Canute, a woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying up English youths and maids to sell in Denmark, whereof she made great gain; but ere long was struck with thunder and died. [7]The year ensuing, Siward earl of Northumberland, with a great number of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet at the king's appointment, made an expedition into Scotland, vanquished the tyrant Macbeth, slaying many thousands of Scots with those Normans that went thither, and placed Malcolm son of the Cumbrian king in his stead; yet not without loss of his own son, and many other both English and Danes. Told of his son's death,[8] he asked whether he received his death's wound before or behind. When it was answered, before; "I am glad," saith he, "and should not else have thought him, though my son, worthy of burial." In the mean while king Edward, being without issue to succeed him, sent Aldred bishop of Winchester with great presents to the emperor, entreating him to prevail with the king of Hungary, that Ed-

[6] Post Christ. 1053. Sim. Dun. [7] Post. Christ. 1054. Sim. Dun.
[8] Huntingd.

ward, the remaining son of his brother Edmund Ironside, might be sent into England. Siward, but one year surviving his great victory, died at York;[9] reported by Huntingdon a man of giant-like stature; and by his own demeanour at point of death manifested, of a rough and mere soldierly mind. For much disdaining to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caused himself completely armed, and weaponed with battleaxe and shield, to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a martial bravery, but true fortitude glories not in the feats of war, as they are such, but as they serve to end war soonest by a victorious peace. His earldom the king bestowed on Tosti the son of earl Godwin: and soon after, in a convention held at London, banished without visible cause, Huntingdon saith for treason, Algar the son of Leofric; who, passing into Ireland, soon returned with eighteen ships to Griffin prince of South Wales, requesting his aid against king Edward. He, assembling his powers, entered with him into Herefordshire; whom Radulf a timorous captain, son to the king's sister, not by Eustace, but a former husband, met two miles distant from Hereford; and having horsed the English, who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he with his French and Normans beginning to fly, taught the English by his example. Griffin and Algar, following the chase, slew many, wounded more, entered Hereford, slew seven canons defending the minister, burnt the monastery and reliques, then the city; killing some, leading captive others of the citizens, returned with great spoils; whereof king Edward having notice, gathered a great army at Gloucester under the conduct of Harold, now earl of Kent, who strenuously pursuing Griffin entered Wales, and encamped beyond Straddale. But the enemy flying before him farther into the country, leaving there the greater part of his army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offered, with the rest he returned, and fortified Hereford with a wall and gates. Meanwhile Griffin and Algar, dreading the diligence of Harold, after many messages to and fro, concluded a peace with him. Algar, discharging his fleet with pay at West-Chester, came to the king, and was restored to

[9] Post Christ. 1055. Sim. Dun.

his earldom. But Griffin with breach of faith, the next year set upon Leofgar the bishop of Hereford and his clerks there at a place called Glastbrig, with Agelnorth viscount of the shire, and slew them, but Leofric, Harold, and king Edward, by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduced him to peace. [2]The next year, Edward son of Edmund Ironside, for whom his uncle king Edward had sent to the emperor, came out of Hungary, designed successor to the crown; but within a few days after his coming died at London, leaving behind him Edgar Atheling his son, Margaret and Christiana his daughters. About the same time also died earl Leofric in a good old age, a man of no less virtue than power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his country, happily wedded to Godiva, a woman of great praise. His son Algar found less favour with king Edward, again banished the year after his father's death,[3] but he again by the aid of Griffin and a fleet from Norway, maugre the king, soon recovered his earldom. [4]The next year Malcolm king of Scots, coming to visit king Edward, was brought on his way by Tosti the Northumbrian, to whom he swore brotherhood: yet the next year but one,[5] while Tosti was gone to Rome with Aldred archbishop of York for his pall, this sworn brother, taking advantage of his absence, roughly harassed Northumberland. The year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent inroads and robberies of Griffin, whom no bonds of faith could restrain, king Edward sent against him after Christmas, Harold now duke of West-Saxons,[6] with no great body of horse, from Gloucester, where he then kept his court; whose coming heard of Griffin not daring to abide, nor in any part of his land holding himself secure, escaped hardly by sea, ere Harold, coming to Rudeland, burnt his palace and ships there, returning to Gloucester the same day. [7]But by the middle of May setting out with a fleet from Bristow, he sailed about the most part of Wales, and met by his brother Tosti with many troops of horse, as the king had appointed, began to waste the country; but the Welsh giving pledges, yielded themselves, promised to become tri-

[1] Post Christ. 1056. Sim. Dun.
[2] Post Christ. 1057. Sim. Dun.
[3] Post Christ. 1058. Sim. Dun.
[4] Post Christ. 1059.
[5] Post Christ. 1061. Sim. Dun.
[6] Post Christ. 1062. Sim. Dun.
[7] Post Christ. 1063. Sim. Dun.

butary, and banish Griffin their prince; who lurking somewhere was the next year[g] taken and slain by Griffin prince of North Wales; his head with the head and tackle of his ship sent to Harold, by him to the king, who of his gentleness made Blechgent and Rithwallon, or Rivallon, his two brothers, princes in his stead; they to Harold in behalf of the king swore fealty and tribute. [g] Yet the next year Harold having built a fair house at a place called Portascith in Monmouthshire, and stored it with provision, that the king might lodge there in time of hunting, Caradoc, the son of Griffin slain the year before,[1] came with a number of men, slew all he found there, and took away the provision. Soon after which the Northumbrians in a tumult at York beset the palace of Tosti their earl, slew more than two hundred of his soldiers and servants, pillaged his treasure, and put him to fly for his life. The cause of this insurrection they alleged to be, for that the queen Edith had commanded, in her brother Tosti's behalf, Gospatric a nobleman of that country to be treacherously slain in the king's court, and that Tosti himself the year before with like treachery had caused to be slain in his chamber Gamel and Ulf, two other of their noblemen, besides his intolerable exactions and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole country, coming up to complain of their grievances, met with Harold at Northampton, whom the king at Tosti's request had sent to pacify the Northumbrians; but they laying open the cruelty of his government, and their own birthright of freedom not to endure the tyranny of any governor whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and Harold hearing reason, all the accomplices of Tosti were expelled the earldom. He himself, banished the realm, went into Flanders; Morcar the son of Algar made earl in his stead. Huntingdon tells another cause of Tosti's banishment, that one day at Windsor, while Harold reached the cup to king Edward, Tosti, envying to see his younger brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his hair; the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants rushing between, and Tosti forbidden the court. He with continued fury riding to Hereford, where Harold had many servants, preparing an en

[g] Post Christ 1064. Sim Dun. [g] Post Christ. 106 . Sim. Dun.
[1] Camden.

tertainment for the king, came to the house and set upon them with his followers; then lopping off hands, arms, legs of some, heads of others, threw them into butts of wine, meath or ale, which were laid in for the king's drinking: and at his going away charged them to send him this word, that of other fresh meats he might bring with him to his farm what he pleased, but of souse he should find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous act the king pronounced him banished; that the Northumbrians, taking advantage at the king's displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be revenged of his cruelties done to themselves. But this no way agrees; for why then should Harold or the king so much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit him, if he were a banished man for his crimes done before? About this time it happened, that Harold putting to sea one day for his pleasure,[2] in a fisherboat, from his manor at Boseham in Sussex, caught with a tempest too far off lands, was carried into Normandy; and by the earl of Pontiew, on whose coast he was driven, at his own request brought to duke William; who, entertaining him with great courtesy, so far won him, as to promise the duke by oath of his own accord, not only the castle of Dover then in his tenure, but the kingdom also after king Edward's death to his utmost endeavour, thereupon betrothing the duke's daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say, that king Edward himself, after the death of Edward his nephew, sent Harold thither on purpose to acquaint duke William with my intention to bequeath him his kingdom:[3] but Malmsbury accounts the former story to be the truer. Ingulf writes, that king Edward now grown old, and perceiving Edgar his nephew both in body and mind unfit to govern, especially against the pride and insolence of Godwin's sons, who would never obey him; duke William on the other side of high merit, and his kinsman by the mother, had sent Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint the duke with his purpose, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that king Edward upon such considerations had sent one or other; but archbishop Robert had fled the land, and dead many years before. Eadmer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the king's permission

[3] Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Norncor.

or connivance, to get free his brother Wulnod and nephew Hacun the son of Swane, whom the king had taken hostages of Godwin, and sent into Normandy; that king Edward foretold Harold, his journey thither would be to the detriment of all England, and his own reproach; that duke William then acquainted Harold how Edward, ere his coming to the crown, had promised, if ever he attained it, to leave duke William successor after him. Last of these Matthew Paris writes, that Harold, to get free of duke William, affirmed his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret confederacy: so variously are these things reported. After this king Edward grew sickly,[4] yet as he was able kept his Christmas at London, and was at the dedication of St. Peter's church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt, but on the eve of Epiphany, or Twelfthtide, deceased much lamented, and in the church was entombed. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectured by his words in anger to a peasant, who had crossed his game, (for with hunting and hawking he was much delighted), "By God and God's mother," said he, "I shall do you as shrewd a turn if I can;" observing that law maxim, the best of all his successors, "that the king of England can do no wrong." The softness of his nature gave growth to factions of those about him, Normans especially and English; these complaining, that Robert the archbishop was a sower of dissension between the king and his people, a traducer of the English, the other side, that Godwin and his sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the king, usurping to themselves equal share in the government, ofttimes making sport with his simplicity; [5]that through their power in the land, they made no scruple to kill men of whose inheritance they took a liking, and so to take possession. The truth is, that Godwin and his sons did many things boisterously and violently, much against the king's mind; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his wife Edith Godwin's daughter in such aversation, as in bed never to have touched her; whether for this cause, or mistaken chastity, not commendable; to enquire further, is not material. His laws held good and just, and long after desired by the English of their

[4] Post Christ. 1066. Sim. Dun. [5] Huntingd.

Norman kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at ... excessive, at festivals nothing puffed up with the co... he wore, which his queen with curious art had wove... in gold. He was full of alms-deeds, and exhorted th... to like charity. He is said to be the first English k... cured the disease thence called the king's evil; yet ... bury blames them who attribute that cure to his ro... to his sanctity; said also to have cured certain bl... with the water wherein he hath washed his hands. ... before his death, lying speechless two days, the th... after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it we... vision, not an illusion which he had seen, God wo... him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he rel... he had seen two devout monks, whom he knew in N... to have lived and died well, who appearing told him t... sent messengers from God to foretel, that because t... ones of England, dukes, lords, bishops, and abbots, ... ministers of God, but of the devil, God had delivered ... to their enemies; and when he desired that he migh... this vision, to the end they might repent, it was a... they neither will repent, neither will God pardon t... this relation others trembling, Stigand the simoniac... bishop, whom Edward much to blame had suffered ma... to sit primate in the church, is said to have laughed, ... feverish dream of a doting old man; but the event p... true.

HAROLD, SON OF EARL GODWIN.

Harold, whether by king Edward a little before h... ordained successor to the crown, as Simeon of Durh... others affirm, or by the prevalence of his faction, e... Edgar the right heir, grandchild to Edmund Iron... Malmsbury and Huntingdon agree; no sooner was the ... of king Edward ended, but on the same day was elec... crowned king: and no sooner placed in the throne, bu... to frame himself by all manner of complyances to ge... tion, endeavoured to make good laws, repealed bad, b... great patron to church and churchmen, courteous and ...

[6] Hoved. Florent.

to all reputed good, a hater of evildoers, charged all his officers to punish thieves, robbers, and all disturbers of the peace, while he himself by sea and land laboured in the defence of his country: so good an actor is ambition. In the mean while a blazing star, seven mornings together, about the end of April was seen to stream terribly, not only over England, but other parts of the world; fortelling here, as was thought, the great changes approaching: plainliest prognosticated by Elmer, a monk of Malmsbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own legs for soaring too high. He in his youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted wings to his hands and feet, with these on the top of a tower, spread out to gather air, he flew more than a furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his limbs; yet so conceited of his art, that he attributed the cause of his fall to the want of a tail, as birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration, yet for the strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing, as I found it placed in my author. But to digress no farther; Tosti the king's brother coming from Flanders, full of envy at his younger brother's advancement to the crown, resolved what he might to trouble his reign; forcing therefore them of Wight Isle to contribution, he sailed thence to Sandwich, committing piracies on the coast between. Harold, then residing at London, with a great number of ships drawn together, and of horse troops by land, prepares in person for Sandwich: whereof Tosti having notice, directs his course with sixty ships towards Lindsey,[7] taking with him all the seamen he found, willing or unwilling; where he burnt many villages, and slew many of the inhabitants; but Edwin the Mercian duke, and Morcar his brother, the Northumbrian earl, with their forces on either side, soon drove him out of the country. Who thence betook him to Malcolm the Scottish king, and with him abode the whole summer. About the same time duke William sending ambassadors to admonish Harold of his promise and oath, to assist him in his plea to the kingdom, he made answer, that by the death of his daughter betrothed to him on that condition, he was absolved of his oath;[8] or not dead, he

[7] Malms. [8] Eadmer.

could not take her now an outlandish woman, with
consent of the realm; that it was presumptuously done,
not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of
states, he had sworn away the right of the kingdom;
what he swore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner
his prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the duke to req
or expect of him the foregoing of a kingdom, conferred
him with universal favour and acclamation of the people.
thus that denial he added contempt, sending the messen
back, saith Matthew Paris, on maimed horses. The duke,
contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the pope, set
forth the justice of his cause; which Harold, whether thro
haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the ways to Ro
were stopped, sought not to do. Duke William, besides
promise and oath of Harold, alleged that king Edward, by
advice of Seward, Godwin himself, and Stigand the ar
bishop, had given him the right of succession, and had
him the son and nephew of Godwin, pledges of the gift:
pope sent to duke William, after this demonstration of
right, a consecrated banner. Whereupon he having with gr
care and choice got an army of tall and stout soldiers, un
captains of great skill and mature age, came in August to
port of St. Valerie. Meanwhile Harold from London co
to Sandwich, there expecting his navy; which also comi
he sails to the Isle of Wight; and having heard of duke W
liam's preparations and readiness to invade him, kept g
watch on the coast, and foot forces every where in fit place
guard the shore. But ere the middle of September, provis
failing when it was most needed, both fleet and army ret
home. When on a sudden, Harold Harvager king of Norw
with a navy of more than five hundred great ships,[9] (others l
sen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousan
appears at the mouth of Tine; to whom earl Tosti with
ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniti
set sail with all speed, and entered the river Humber. Then
turning into Ouse, as far as Rical, landed, and won York
assault. At these tidings Harold with all his power has
thitherward; but ere his coming, Edwin and Morcar at F
ford by York, on the north side of Ouse, about the feast

[9] Malms. Matt. Paris.

St. Matthew had given them battle; successfully at first, but overborn at length with numbers; and forced to turn their backs, more of them perished in the river than in the fight. The Norwegians taking with them five hundred hostages out of York, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retired to their ships. But the fifth day after, king Harold with a great and well-appointed army coming to York, and at Stamford bridge, or Battle bridge on Darwent, assailing the Norwegians, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them, with Harvager their king, and Tosti his own brother.[1] But Olave the king's son, and Paul earl of Orkney, left with many soldiers to guard the ships, surrendering themselves with hostages, and oath given never to return as enemies, he suffered freely to depart with twenty ships, and the small remnant of their army. [2]One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgotten, who with incredible valour keeping the bridge a long hour against the whole English army, with his single resistance delayed their victory, and scorning offered life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an arrow; and by his fall opened the passage of pursuit to a complete victory. Wherewith Harold lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former shows of popularity, defrauded his soldiers their due and well-deserved share of the spoils. While these things passed in Northumberland, duke William lay still at St. Valerie; his ships were ready, but the wind served not for many days; which put the soldiery into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky sign of their success; at last the wind came favourable, the duke first under sail awaited the rest at anchor, till all coming forth, the whole fleet of nine hundred ships with a prosperous gale arrived at Hastings. At his going out of the boat by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the omen,[3] a soldier standing by said aloud, that their duke had taken possession of England. Landed, he restrained his army from waste and spoil, saying that they ought to spare what was their own. But these things are related of Alexander and Cæsar, and I doubt thence borrowed by the monks to inlay their story. The duke for fifteen days after landing kept his

[1] Camd. [2] Malms. [3] Sim Dun.

men quiet within the camp, having taken the castle of Hastings, or built a fortress there. Harold secure the while, and proud of his new victory, thought all his enemies now under foot: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him that duke William of Normandy with a great multitude of horse and foot, slingers and archers, besides other choice auxiliaries which he had hired in France, was arrived at Pevensey. Harold, who had expected him all the summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was October, with his forces much diminished after two sore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to London. Thence not tarrying for supplies, which were on their way towards him, hurries into Sussex, (for he was always in haste since the day of his coronation,) and ere the third part of his army could be well put in order, finds the duke about nine miles from Hastings, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his enemies: them discovered, such the duke causing to be led about, and after well filled with meat and drink, sent back. They not otherwise brought word, that the duke's army were most of them priests; for they saw their faces all over shaven; the English then using to let grow on their upper lip large mustachios, as did anciently the Britons. The king laughing answered, that they were not priests, but valiant and hardy soldiers. Therefore said Gurtha his brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his age, "Forbear thou thyself to fight, who art obnoxious to duke William by oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of battle, who may justly fight in the defence of our country; thou, reserved to fitter time, mayst either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead." The king not hearkening to this, lest it might seem to argue fear in him or a bad cause, with like resolution rejected the offers of duke William sent to him by a monk before the battle, with this only answer hastily delivered, "Let God judge between us." The offers were these, that Harold would either lay down the sceptre, or hold it of him, or try his title with him by single combat in sight of both armies, or refer it to the pope. These rejected, both sides prepared to fight the next morning, the English from singing and drinking all night, the Normans from confession of their sins, and communion of the host.

The English were in a strait disadvantageous place, so that many, discouraged with their ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slipped away before the onset, the rest in close order, with their battleaxes and shields, made an impenetrable squadron: the king himself with his brothers on foot stood by the royal standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwoven with gold and precious stones. The Norman foot, most bowmen, made the foremost front, on either side wings of horse somewhat behind. The duke arming, and his corslet given him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, "The strength of my dukedom will be turned now into a kingdom" Then the whole army singing the song of Rowland, the remembrance of whose exploits might hearten them, imploring lastly divine help, the battle began, and was fought sorely on either side: but the main body of English foot by no means would be broken, till the duke, causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into open disorder, then turned suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought their overthrow; yet so they died not unmanfully, but turning oft upon their enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and filled up a great ditch with their carcases. Thus hung the victory wavering on either side from the third hour of day to evening, when Harold having maintained the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an arrow, fell at length, and left his soldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied enemy. With Harold fell also his two brothers, Leofwin and Girtha, with them greatest part of the English nobility. His body lying dead a knight or soldier wounding on the thigh, was by the duke presently turned out of military service. Of Normans and French were slain no small number; the duke himself that day not a little hazarded his person, having had three choice horses killed under him. Victory obtained, and his dead carefully buried, the English also by permission, he sent the body of Harold to his mother without ransom, though she offered very much to redeem it, which having received she buried at Waltham, in a church built there by Harold. In the mean while, Edwin and Morca, who had withdrawn themselves from Harold, hearing of his death, came to London; sending Aldgith the queen

their sister with all speed to West-chester. Aldred the archbishop of York, and many of the nobles, with the Londoners, would have set up Edgar the right heir, and prepared themselves to fight for him; but Morcar and Edgar not liking the choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their forces, and returned home. Duke William, contrary to his former resolution, (if Florent of Worcester, and they who follow him,[4] say true,) wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way; or rather, as saith Malmsbury, not in hostile but in regal manner, came up to London, met at Barcham by Edgar, with the nobles, bishops, citizens, and at length Edwin and Morcar, who all submitted to him, gave hostages and swore fidelity, he to them promised peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to London with all his army, he was on Christmas-day solemnly crowned in the great church at Westminster, by Aldred archbishop of York, having first given his oath at the altar, in presence of all the people, to defend the church, well govern the people, maintain right law, prohibit rapine, and unjust judgment. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the choice of their native king, were constrained to take the yoke of an outlandish conqueror. With what minds and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, William of Malmsbury spares not to lay open. Not a few years before the Normans came, the clergy, though in Edward the Confessor's days, had lost all good literature and religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin service; he was a miracle to others, who knew his grammar. The monks went clad in fine stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in itself no fault, yet to their consciences was irreligious. The great men, given to gluttony and dissolute life, made a prey of the common people, abusing their daughters whom they had in service, then turning them off to the stews; the meaner sort tippling together night and day, spent all they had in drunkenness, attended with other vices which effeminate men's minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of war, they gave to William their conqueror so easy a conquest. Not but that some few

[4] Sim. Dun.

of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity ofttimes exempts not good men from their share in evil times with the bad.

If these were the causes of such misery and thraldom to those our ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, than here in fit season to remember this age in the midst of her security, to fear from like vices, without amendment, the revolution of like calamities?

END OF THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MOSCOVIA,

AND OF OTHER LESS KNOWN COUNTRIES LYING EASTWARD OF RUSSIA AS FAR AS CATHAY.

GATHERED FROM THE WRITINGS OF SEVERAL EYEWITNESSES.

[FIRST PUBLISHED, 1682.]

THE PREFACE.

THE study of geography is both profitable and delightful: but the writers thereof, though some of them exact enough in setting down longitudes and latitudes, yet in those other relations of manners, religion, government, and such like, accounted geographical, have for the most part missed their proportions. Some too brief and deficient satisfy not: others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the reader, while they tell long stories of absurd superstitions, ceremonies, quaint habits, and other petty circumstances little to the purpose. Whereby that which is useful, and only worth observation, in such a wood of words, is either overslipped, or soon forgotten; which perhaps brought into the mind of some men more learned and judicious, who had not the leisure or purpose to write an entire geography, yet at least to assay something in the description of one or two countries, which might be as a pattern or example to render others more cautious hereafter, who intended the whole work. And this, perhaps, induced Paulus Jovius to describe only Moscovy and Britain. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with Moscovy, as being the most northern region of Europe reputed civil; and the more northern parts thereof first discovered by English voyagers. Wherein I saw I had by much the advantage of Jovius. What was scattered in many volumes, and observed at several times by eyewitnesses,

with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert authors; who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern bounds of Russia to the walls of Cathay, in several late journies made thither overland by Russians, who describe the countries in their way far otherwise than our common geographers. From proceeding further, other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published; that so many things remarkable, dispersed before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collecting them.

MOSCOVIA, OR RELATIONS OF MOSCOVIA, &c.

CHAP. I.—A Brief Description

The empire of Moscovia, or as others call it Russia, is bounded on the north with Lapland and the ocean; southward by the Crim Tartar; on the west by Lithuania, Livonia, and Poland, on the east by the river Ob, or Oby, and the Nagayan Tartars on the Volga as far as Astracan.

The north parts of this country are so barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thousand miles;[1] and so cold in winter, that the very sap of their woodfuel burning on the fire freezes at the brand's end, where it drops. The mariners, which were left on shipboard in the first English voyage thither, in going up only from the cabins to the hatches,[2] had their breath so congealed by the cold, that they fell down as it were stifled. The bay of St. Nicholas, where they first put in,[3] lieth in sixty-four degrees; called so from the abbey there built of wood, wherein are twenty monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great drunkards: their church is fair, full of images and tapers. There are besides but six houses, whereof one built by the English. In the bay over against the abbey is Rose Island,[4] full of damask and red roses, violets and wild rosemary; the isle is in circuit seven or eight

[1] Hack. 258 [2] Ibid. vol. i. 248. [3] Ibid. 376. [4] Ibid. 365.

miles, about the midst of May, the snow there is cleared, having two months been melting; then the ground in fourteen days is dry, and grass knee-deep within a month; after September, frost returns, and snow a yard high: it hath a house built by the English near to a fresh, fair spring. North east of the abbey, on the other side of Duina, is the castle of Archangel, where the English have another house. The river Duina, beginning about seven hundred miles within the country, having first received Pinega, falls here into the sea, very large and swift, but shallow. It runneth pleasantly between hills on either side; beset like a wilderness with high fir and other trees. Their boats of timber, without any iron in them, are either to sail, or to be drawn up with ropes against the stream.

North-east beyond Archangel standeth Lampas,[5] where, twice a year, is kept a great fair of Russes, Tartars, and Samoëds; and to the landward, Mezen and Slobotca, two towns of traffic between the river Pechora, or Petzora, and Duina: to seaward lies the Cape of Candinos, and the Island of Colgoive, about thirty leagues from the bar of Pechory in sixty-nine degrees.[6]

The river Pechora or Petzora, holding his course through Siberia, how far the Russians thereabouts know not, runneth into the sea at seventy-two mouths, full of ice; abounding with swans, ducks, geese, and partridge, which they take in July, sell the feathers, and salt the bodies for winter provision. On this river spreading to a lake, stands the town of Pustozera in sixty-eight degrees,[7] having some eighty or a hundred houses, where certain merchants of Hull wintered in the year sixteen hundred and eleven. The town Pechora, small and poor, hath three churches. They traded there up the river, four days' journey to Outszilma, a small town of sixty houses. The Russians that have travelled say that this river springs out of the mountains of Jougoria, and runs through Permia. Not far from the mouth thereof are the straits of Vaigatz, of which hereafter: more eastward is the point of Naramzy, the next to that the river Ob,[8] beyond which the Moscovites have extended lately their dominion. Touching the Riphæan mountains, whence Tanais was anciently thought to spring, our men could hear nothing; but rather that the whole

[5] Hack. 384. [6] Purc. part 3. 533. [7] Ibid. Purc. [8] Purc. 549, 445, 551.

country is champaign, and in the northernmost part huge and desert woods of fir, abounding with black wolves, bears, buffs, and another beast called rossomakha, whose female bringeth forth by passing through some narrow place, as between two stakes, and so presseth her womb to a disburdening. Travelling southward, they found the country more pleasant, fair, and better inhabited, corn, pasture, meadows, and huge woods. Arkania (if it be not the same with Archangel) is a place of English trade, from whence a day's journey distant, but from St. Nicholas a hundred versts,[3] Colmogro stands on the Duina; a great town not walled, but scattered. The English have here lands of their own, given them by the emperor, and fair houses: not far beyond Pinega, running between rocks of alabaster and great woods, meets with Duina. From Colmogro to Usting are five hundred versts or little miles, an ancient city upon the confluence of Juga and Sucana into Duina,[1] which there first receives his name. Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great city so named of the river which passes through the midst; it hath a castle walled about with brick and stone, and many wooden churches, two for every parish, the one in winter to be heated, the other used in summer: this is a town of much traffic, a thousand miles from St. Nicholas. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under open sky by the river side, and other provision only what they bring with them. From Wologda by sled they go to Yeraslave on the Volga, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs two thousand seven hundred versts to the Caspian sea,[2] having his head spring out of Bealozera, which is a lake, amidst whereof is built a strong tower, wherein the kings of Moscovy reserve their treasure in time of war. From this town to Rostove, then to Pereslave, a great town situate on a fair lake; thence to Mosco.

Between Yeraslave and Mosco, which is two hundred miles, the country is so fertile, so populous and full of villages, that in a forenoon seven or eight hundred sleds are usually seen coming with salt-fish, or laden back with corn.[3]

Mosco the chief city, lying in fifty-five degrees, distant from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the suburbs, but rudely built;[4] their houses

[3] Hack. 376. [1] Ibid. 312. [2] Ibid. 377, 248. [3] Ibid. 251, 335. [4] Ibid. 313.

and churches most of timber, few of stone, their streets u
paved; it hath a fair castle four-square, upon a hill, two mi
about, with brick walls very high, and some say eighteen fo
thick, sixteen gates, and as many bulwarks; in the castle
kept the chief markets, and in winter on the river, being th
firm ice. This river Moscua on the south-west side endo
the castle, wherein are nine fair churches with round gild
towers, and the emperor's palace; which neither within n
without is equal for state to the king's houses in England b
rather like our buildings of old fashion, with small windo
some of glass, some with lattices, or iron bars.

They who travel from Mosco to the Caspian, go by wa
down the Moscua to the river Occa;[5] then by certain castl
to Rezan, a famous city now ruinate; the tenth day to Nyz
vogrod, where Occa falls into Volga, which the Tartars c
Edel. From thence the eleventh day to Cazan, a Tartar ci
of great wealth heretofore, now under the Russian; walled
first with timber and earth, but since by the emperor Vas
wich with freestone. From Cazan to the river Cama, fallin
into Volga from the province of Permia, the people dwellin
on the left side are Gentiles, and live in woods without houses
beyond them to Astracan, Tartars of Mangat, and Nagay
the right side those of Crimme. From Mosco to Astracan
about six hundred leagues. The town is situate in an islan
on a hill-side walled with earth, but the castle with earth a
timber; the houses, except that of the governor, and so
few others, poor and simple; the ground utterly barren, n
without wood: they live there on fish, and sturgeon especially
which hanging up to dry in the streets and houses, brin
whole swarms of flies, and infection to the air, and oft gre
pestilence. This island, in length twelve leagues, three i
breadth, is the Russian limit toward the Caspian, which h
keeps with a strong garrison, being twenty leagues from th
sea, into which Volga falls at seventy mouths. From S
Nicholas, or from Mosco to the Caspian, they pass in forty
six days and nights, most part by water.

Westward from St. Nicholas twelve hundred miles is th
city.[7] Novogrod fifty-eight degrees, the greatest mart town
of all this dominion, and in bigness not inferior to Mosco
The way thither is through the western bottom of St. Nichola

[5] Hack. 325. [6] Ibid. 334. [7] Ibid. 365.

bay, and so along the shore full of dangerous rocks to the monastery Solofky, wherein are at least two hundred monks; the people thereabout in a manner savages, yet tenants to those monks. Thence to the dangerous river Owiga, wherein are waterfalls as steep as from a mountain, and by the violence of their descent kept from freezing: so that the boats are to be carried there a mile over land; which the tenants of that abbey did by command, and were guides to the merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the town Povensa, standing within a mile of the famous lake Onega three hundred and twenty miles long, and in some places seventy, at narrowest twenty-five broad, and of great depth. Thence by some monasteries to the river Swire; then into the lake Ladiscay, much longer than Onega; after which into the river Vollusky, which through the midst of Novogrod runs into this lake, and this lake into the Baltic sound by Narva and Revel. Their other cities toward the western bound are Plesco, Smolensko, or Vobsco.

The emperor exerciseth absolute power: if any man die without male issue, his land returns to the emperor.[3] Any rich man, who through age or other impotency is unable to serve the public, being informed of, is turned out of his estate, and forced with his family to live on a small pension, while some other more deserving is by the duke's authority put into possession. The manner of informing the duke is thus: Your grace, saith one, hath such a subject, abounding with riches, but for the service of the state unmeet; and you have others poor and in want, and well able to do their country good service. Immediately the duke sends forth to inquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, saith he, you have too much living, and are unserviceable to your prince; less will serve you, and the rest maintain others who deserve more. The man thus called to impart his wealth repines not, but humbly answers that all he hath is God's and the duke's, as if he made restitution of what more justly was another's, than parted with his own. Every gentleman hath rule and justice over his own tenants: if the tenants of two gentlemen agree not, they seek to compose it; if they cannot, each brings his tenant before the high judge of that country. They have no lawyers, but every man pleads his own cause, or else by

[3] Hack. 240.

When there is love between two,[6] the man, among oth trifling gifts, sends to the woman a whip, to signify, if sh offend, what she must expect; and it is a rule among them that if the wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks herse not beloved, and is the worse; yet they are very obedient, an stir not forth, but at some seasons. Upon utter dislike, th husband divorces: which liberty no doubt they received fir with their religion from the Greek church,[7] and the imperial law

Their dead they bury with new shoes on their feet,[5] as to long journey; and put letters testimonial in their hands to S Nicholas, or St Peter, that this was a Russe or Russes, an died in the true faith; which, as they believe, St. Peter havi read, forthwith admits him into heaven.

They have no learning,[9] nor will suffer to be among them their greatest friendship is drinking; they are great talker liars, flatterers, and dissemblers. They delight in gross mea and noisome fish; their drink is better, being sundry sorts o meath; the best made with juice of a sweet and crimson ber called Malvena, growing also in France;[1] other sorts wi blackcherry, or divers other berries: another drink they m in the spring drawn from the birch-tree root, whose sap aft June dries up. But there are no people that live so miserab as the poor of Russia; if they have straw and water they mak shift to live; for straw dried and stamped in winter time i their bread; in summer grass and roots; at all times bark o trees is good meat for them; yet many of them die in th street for hunger, none relieving or regarding them.

When they are sent into foreign countries,[2] or that strange come thither, they are very sumptuous in apparel, else t duke himself goes but meanly.

In winter they travel only upon sleds,[3] the ways bei hard, and smooth with snow, the rivers all frozen: one hor with a sled will draw a man four hundred miles in three day in summer the way is deep and travelling ill. The Russe better sort goes not out in winter, but on his sled; in summ on his horse: in his sled he sits on a carpet, or a whi bear's skin; the sled drawn with a horse well decked, wi many fox or wolf tails about his neck, guided by a boy on h back, other servants riding on the tail of the sled.

[6] Hack. 322 [7] Ibid. 314 [8] Ibid. 242, 254, 323.
[9] Ibid. 241, 314. [1] Ibid. 323. [2] Ibid. 239. [3] Ibid. 314

The Russian sea breeds a certain beast which they call a morse,[4] who seeks his food on the rocks, climbing up with help of his teeth; whereof they make as great account as we of the elephant's tooth.

CHAP. II.—Of Samoedia, Siberia, and other Countries north-east, subject to the Muscovites.

North-east of Russia lieth Samoëdia by the river Ob. This country was first discovered by Oneke a Russian; who first trading privately among them in rich furs, got great wealth, and the knowledge of their country; then revealed his discovery to Boris protector to Pheodor, shewing how beneficial that country gained would be to the empire. Who sending embassadors among them gallantly attired, by fair means won their subjection to the empire, every head paying yearly two skins of richest sables. Those messengers traveling also two hundred leagues beyond Ob eastward, made report of pleasant countries, abounding with woods and fountains, and people riding on elks and loshes; others drawn on sleds by rein-deer, others by dogs as swift as deer. The Samoeds that came along with those messengers, returning to Mosco, admired the stateliness of that city, and were as much admired for excellent shooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far distant as hardly could be discerned.

The river Ob is reported[5] by the Russes to be in breadth the sailing of a summer's day; but full of islands and shoals, having neither woods, nor, till of late, inhabitants. Out of Ob they turn into the river Tauze. The Russians have here, since the Samoëds yielded them subjection, two governors, with three or four hundred gunners; have built villages and some small castles; all which place they call Mongozey or Molgomsay.[6] Further upland they have also built other cities of wood, consisting chiefly of Poles, Tartars, and Russes, fugitive or condemned men; as Vergateria, Siber, whence the whole country is named Tinna, thence Tobolsca on this side Ob, on the rivers Irtis, and Tobol, chief seat of the Russian governor; above that, Zergolta in an island of Ob, where they have a customhouse. Beyond that on the other side Ob,

[4] Hack. 252. [5] Purch. part 3 p. 545, 540. [6] Ibid. 524, 526.

Narim, and Tooina, now a great city.[7] Certain chur
are erected in those parts; but no man forced to
beyond Narim eastward on the river Telta is built the
Congoscoi, and all this plantation began since the y
with many other towns like these. And these are
tries from whence come all the sables and rich furs.

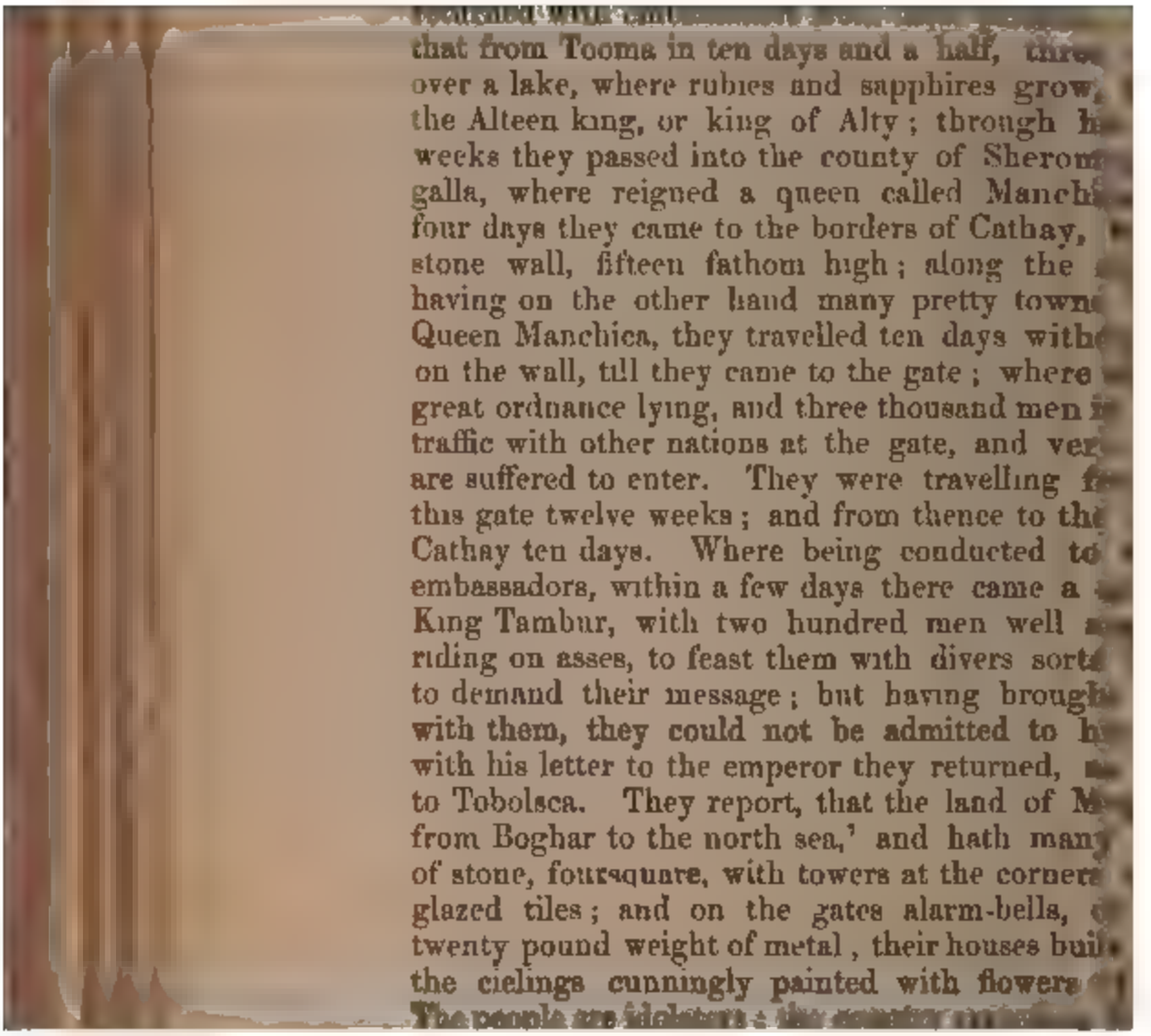
The Samoëds have no towns or certain place of a
up and down where they find moss for their deer;[8]
in companies peaceably, and are governed by som
ancientest amongst them, but are idolaters. Th
wondrous cunningly; their arrow-heads are sharpene
or fish bones, which latter serve them also for needl
thread being the sinews of certain small beasts, w
they sow the furs which clothe them; the furry side
mer outward, in winter inward. They have many w
their daughters they sell to him who bids most;
they be not liked, are turned back to their friends,
band allowing only to the father what the marriage f
him in. Wives are brought to bed there by their h
and the next day go about as before. They till
ground; but live on the flesh of those wild beasts wh
hunt. They are the only guides to such as travel
Siberia, or any of those north-east parts in winter
drawn on sleds with bucks riding post day and night
moonlight, and lodge on the snow under tents of de
n whatever place they find enough of white moss to f
sled-stags, turning them loose to dig it up themselv
the deep snow: another Samoed, stepping to the ne
brings in store of firing: round about which they lod
their tents, leaving the top open to vent smoke;
manner they are as warm as the stoves in Russia. Th
provision of meat with them, and partake besides
fowl or venison the Samoed kills with shooting by t
their drink is melted snow. Two deer being yoked
riding post, will draw two hundred miles in twenty-fo
without resting, and laden with their stuff, will draw
miles in twelve.

[7] Purch. part 3. p. 525, 527. [8] Ibid. 522, 555. [9] Ib

CHAP. III.—Of Tingoesia and the Countries adjoining eastward as far as Cathay.

Beyond Narim and Comgoscoi[1] the soldiers of those garrisons, travelling by appointment of the Russian governor in the year 1605, found many goodly countries not inhabited, many vast deserts and rivers; till at the end of ten weeks they spied certain cottages and herds, or companies of people, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and signified to the Samoëds and Tartars, which were guides to the Russian soldiers, that they were called Tingoësi; that their dwelling was on the great river Jenissey This river is said to be far bigger than Ob,[2] distant from the mouth thereof four days and nights' sailing; and likewise falls into the sea of Naramzie: it hath high mountains on the east, some of which cast out fire, to the west a plain and fertile country, which in the spring-time it overflows about seventy leagues; all that time the inhabitants keep them in the mountains, and then return with their cattle to the plain. The Tingoësi are a very gentle nation, they have great swoln throats,[3] like those in Italy that live under the Alps; at persuasion of the Samoëds they forthwith submitted to the Russian government: and at their request travelling the next year to discover still eastward, they came at length to a river, which the savages of that place called Pisida,[4] somewhat less than Jenissey, beyond which, hearing ofttimes the tolling of brazen bells, and sometimes the noise of men and horses, they durst not pass over; they saw there certain sails afar off, square, and therefore supposed to be like Indian or China sails, and the rather for that they report that great guns have been heard shot off from those vessels. In April and May they were much delighted with the fair prospect of that country, replenished with many rare trees, plants, and flowers, beasts and fowl. Some think here to be the borders of Tangut in the north of Cathay.[5] Some of those Samoëds, about the year 1610, travelled so far till they came in view of a white city, and heard a great din of bells, and report there came to them men all armed in iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611, divers out of Cathay, and others from Alteen Czar, who styles himself the golden king,

[1] Purch part 3. p. 527. Ibid. 528.
[2] Ibid 527. 551 546 527.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. 543. 546.



that from Tooma in ten days and a half, thre
over a lake, where rubies and sapphires grow,
the Alteen king, or king of Alty; through h
weeks they passed into the county of Sherom
galla, where reigned a queen called Manch
four days they came to the borders of Cathay,
stone wall, fifteen fathom high; along the
having on the other hand many pretty town
Queen Manchica, they travelled ten days with
on the wall, till they came to the gate; where
great ordnance lying, and three thousand men
traffic with other nations at the gate, and ver
are suffered to enter. They were travelling f
this gate twelve weeks; and from thence to th
Cathay ten days. Where being conducted to
embassadors, within a few days there came a
King Tambur, with two hundred men well
riding on asses, to feast them with divers sort
to demand their message; but having brough
with them, they could not be admitted to h
with his letter to the emperor they returned,
to Tobolsca. They report, that the land of M
from Boghar to the north sea,' and hath man
of stone, foursquare, with towers at the corner
glazed tiles; and on the gates alarm-bells,
twenty pound weight of metal, their houses bui
the cielings cunningly painted with flowers
The people are idolaters: the country

the city Shirokalga; it hath a castle well furnished with short ordnance and small shot, which they who keep watch on the gates, towers, and walls, duly at sun set and rising discharge thrice over. The city abounds with rich merchandise, velvets, damasks, cloth of gold, and tissue, with many sorts of sugars. Like to this is the city of Yara; their markets smell odoriferously with spices, and Tayth more rich than that. Shirooan yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to Cathaia the imperial city is two days' journey, built of white stone, foursquare, in circuit four days going, cornered with four white towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the wall, white intermingled with blue, and loopholes furnished with ordnance. In the midst of this white city stands a castle built of magnet, where the king dwells, in a sumptuous palace, the top whereof is overlaid with gold. The city stands on even ground encompassed with the river Youga, seven days' journey from the sea. The people are very fair but not warlike, delighting most in rich traffic. These relations are referred hither, because we have them from Russians; who report also, that there is a sea beyond[8] Ob, so warm, that all kind of seafowl live thereabout as well in winter as in summer. Thus much briefly of the sea and lands between Russia and Cathay.

CHAP. IV. — The Succession of Moscovia Dukes and Emperors, taken out of their chronicles by a Polac, with some later additions.[9]

The great Dukes of Moscovy derive their pedigree, though without ground, from Augustus Cæsar; whom they fable to have sent certain of his kingdom to be governors over many remote provinces; and among them, Prussus over Prussia; him to have had his seat on the eastern Baltic shore by the river Wixel; of whom Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor descended by the fourth generation, were by the Russians, living then without civil government, sent for in the year 573, to bear rule over them, at the persuasion of Costomislius chief citizen of Novogrod. They therefore, taking with them Olechus their kinsman, divided those countries among themselves, and each in his province taught them civil government.

[8] Purch p. 806.

[9] Hac. vol. i. p. 221.

Ivor, son of Rurek, the rest dying without issue, becam successor to them all: being left in nonage under the protec tion of Olechus. He took to wife Olha daughter to a citiz of Plesco, of whom he begat Stoslaus; but after that, bein slain by his enemies, Olha his wife went to Constantinopl and was there baptized Helena.

Stoslaus fought many battles with his enemies; but was length by them slain, who made a cup of his skull, engrave with this sentence in gold; "Seeking after other men's, h lost his own." His sons were Teropulchus, Olega, an Volodimir.

Volodimir, having slain the other two, made himself so lord of Russia; yet after that fact inclining to Christia religion, had to wife Anna sister to Basilius and Constantin Greek emperors; and with all his people, in the year 98 was baptized, and called Basilius. Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before that time Basilius the Greek emperor sent a bisho to them; at whose preaching they not being moved, bu requiring a miracle, he after devout prayers, taking the boo of gospel into his hands, threw it before them all into th fire; which remaining there unconsumed, they were converte

Volodimir had eleven sons, among whom he divided hi kingdom: Boristus and Glebus for their holy life registere saints; and their feast kept every year in November wit great solemnity. The rest, through contention to have th sole government, ruined each other; leaving only Jaroslau inheritor of all.

Volodimir, son of Jaroslaus, kept his residence in th ancient city Kiow upon the river Boristhenes. And afte many conflicts with the sons of his uncles and having subdue all, was called Monomachus. He made war with Constantin the Greek emperor, wasted Thracia, and returning hom with great spoils to prepare new war, was appeased b Constantine; who sent Neophytus bishop of Ephesus, an Eustathius abbot of Jerusalem, to present him with part o our Saviour's cross, and other rich gifts, and to salute hi by the name of Czar, or Cæsar: with whom he thencefort entered into league and amity.

After him in order of descent Vuszevolodus, George, Dem trius.

Then George, his son, who, in the year 1237 was slain i battle by the Tartar prince Bathy, who subdued Moscovia, an

made it tributary. From that time the Tartarians made such dukes of Russia, as they thought would be most pliable to their ends; of whom they required, as oft as ambassadors came to him out of Tartary, to go out and meet them; and in his own court to stand bareheaded, while they sate and delivered their message. At which time the Tartars wasted also Polonia, Selesia, and Hungaria, till Pope Innocent the Fourth obtained peace of them for five years. This Bathy, say the Russians, was the father of Tamerlane, whom they call Temurkutla.

Then succeeded Jaroslaus, the brother of George, then Alexander his son.

Daniel, the son of Alexander, was he who first made the city of Mosco his royal seat, builded the castle, and took on him the title of great duke.

John, the son of Daniel, was surnamed Kaleta, that word signifying a scrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his alms.

His son Simeon, dying without issue, left the kingdom to John his next brother, and he to his son Demetrius, who left two sons, Basilius and George.

Basilius reigning, had a son of his own name, but doubting lest not of his own body, through the suspicion he had of his wife's chastity, him he disinherits, and gives the dukedom to his brother George.

George, putting his nephew Basilius in prison, reigns; yet at his death, either through remorse, or other cause, surrenders him the dukedom.

Basilius, unexpectedly, thus attaining his supposed right, enjoyed it not long in quiet; for Andrew and Demetrius, the two sons of George, counting it injury not to succeed their father, made war upon him, and surprising him on a sudden, put out his eyes. Notwithstanding which, the boiarens, or nobles, kept their allegiance to the duke, though blind, whom, therefore, they called Czemnox.

John Vasiliwich, his son, was the first who brought the Russian name out of obscurity into renown. To secure his own estate, he put to death as many of his kindred as were likely to pretend; and styled himself great duke of Wolodimiria, Moscovia, Novogardia, Czar of all Russia. He won Plesco, the only walled city in all Muscovy, and Novogrod,

the richest, from the Lithuanians, to whom they had b
subject fifty years before; and from the latter carried ho
three hundred waggons laden with treasure. He had war w
Alexander king of Poland, and with the Livonians; with hi
on pretence of withdrawing his daughter Helena, whom he h
to wife, from the Greek church to the Romish; with the Li
nians for no other cause but to enlarge his bounds: though
were often foiled by Plettebergius, great master of the Pr
sian knights. His wife was daughter to the duke of Tyversk
of her he begat John, and to him resigned his dukedo
giving him to wife the daughter of Steven, palatine of Mol
via; by whom he had issue Demetrius, and deceased so
after. Vasiliwich, therefore, reassuming the dukedom, m
ried a second wife Sophia, daughter to Thomas Palæologu
who is said to have received her dowry out of the pop
treasury, upon the promise of the duke to become Romish.

This princess, of a haughty mind, often complaining th
she was married to the Tartar's vassal, at length by contin
persuasions, and by a wile, found means to ease her husba
and his country of that yoke. For whereas, till then, t
Tartar had his procurators, who dwelt in the very castle o
Mosco, to oversee state affairs, she feigned that from heav
she had been warned to build a temple to St. Nicholas on t
same place where the Tartar agents had their house. Be
therefore delivered of a son, she made it her request to t
prince of Tartary, whom she had invited to the baptizing, th
he would give her that house, which obtaining, she razed
the ground, and removed those overseers out of the cast
and so, by degrees, dispossessed them of all which they h
in Russia. She prevailed also with her husband to trans
the dukedom from Demetrius the son of John, deceased,
Gabriel his eldest by her.

Gabriel, no sooner duke, but changed his name to Basil
and set his mind to do nobly; he recovered great part
Moscovy from Vitoldus duke of Lithuania; and on the Bo
thenes won Smolensko and many other cities in the y
1514. He divorced his first wife, and of Helena, daughte
duke Glinski, begat Juan Vasilwich.

Juan Vasilwich, being left a child, was committed
George his uncle and protector; at twenty-five years of
he vanquished the Tartars of Cazan and Astracan, bring

home with him their princes captive; made cruel war in Livonia, pretending right of inheritance. He seemed exceedingly devout; and whereas the Russians in their churches use out of zeal and reverence to knock their heads against the ground, his forehead was seldom free of swellings and bruises, and very often seen to bleed. The cause of his rigour in government he alleged to be the malice and treachery of his subjects. But some of the[1] nobles, incited by his cruelty, called in the Crim Tartar, who in the year 1571 broke into Russia, burnt Mosco to the ground. He reigned fifty-four years, had three sons, of which the eldest, being strook on a time by his father, with grief thereof died; his other sons were Pheodor and Demetrius. In the time of Juan Vasilwich the English came first by sea into the north parts of Russia.

Pheodor Juanowich, being under age, was left to the protection of Boris, brother to the young empress, and third son by adoption in the emperor's will.[2] After forty days of mourning, the appointed time of coronation being come, the emperor issuing out of his palace,[3] the whole clergy before him entered with his nobility the church of Blaveshina or blessedness, whence after service to the church of Michael, then to our lady church, being the cathedral. In midst whereof a chair was placed, and most unvaluable garments put upon him: there also was the imperial crown set on his head by the metropolitan, who out of a small book in his hand read exhortations to the emperor of justice and peaceable government. After this, rising from his chair he was invested with an upper robe, so thick with orient pearls and stones, as weighed two hundred pounds, the train borne up by six dukes; his staff imperial was of a unicorn's horn three foot and a half long, beset with rich stones; his globe and six crowns carried before him by princes of the blood; his horse at the church door stood ready with a covering of embroidered pearl, saddle and all suitable, to the value of three hundred thousand marks. There was a kind of bridge made three ways, one hundred and fifty fathom long three foot high, two fathom broad, whereon the emperor with his train went from one church to another, above the infinite throng of people making loud acclamations; at the emperor's returning from those churches they were spread underfoot with cloth of gold,

[1] Horsey's Observations. [2] Hac. vol. i. 466. [3] Horsey.

the porches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet and stammel cloth, all which, as the emperor passed by, were cut and snatched by them that stood next: besides new minted coins of gold and silver cast among the people. The empress in her palace was placed before a great open window in rich and shining robes, among her ladies. After this the emperor came into parliament, where he had a banquet served by his nobles in princely order; two standing on either side his chair with battleaxes of gold; three of the next rooms great and large, being set round with plate of gold and silver, from the ground up to the roof. This triumph lasted a week wherein many royal pastimes were seen; after which, election was made of the nobles to new offices and dignities. The conclusion of all was a peal of one hundred and seventy brass ordnance two miles without the city, and twenty thousand harquebuzes twice over: and so the emperor with at least fifty thousand horse returned through the city to his palace where all the nobility, officers, and merchants brought him rich presents. Shortly after, the emperor, by direction of Boris, conquered the large country of Siberia, and took prisoner the king thereof; he removed also corrupt officers and former taxes. In sum, a great alteration in the government followed, yet all quietly and without tumult. These things reported abroad strook such awe into the neighbour kings that the Crim Tartar, with his wives also, and many nobles, valiant and personable men, came to visit the Russian. There came also twelve hundred Polish gentlemen, many Circassians, and people of other nations, to offer service; ambassadors from the Turk, the Persian, Georgian, and other Tartar princes; from Almany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark. But this glory lasted not long, through the treachery of Boris, who procured the death, first of Demetrius, then of the emperor himself, whereby the imperial race, after the succession of three hundred years, was quite extinguished.

Boris adopted, as before was said, third son to Juan Vasilwich, without impeachment now ascended the throne; but neither did he enjoy long what he had so wickedly compassed. Divine revenge rising up against him a counterfeit of the Demetrius, whom he had caused to be murdered at Ouglets. This upstart, strengthened with many Poles and Cossacks

[4] Post. Christ. 1604. Purch. part 3. p. 750

appears in arms to claim his right out of the hands of Boris, who sent against him an army of two hundred thousand men, many of whom revolted to this Demetrius: Peter Basman, the general, returning to Mosco with the empty triumph of a reported victory. But the enemy still advancing, Boris one day, after a plentiful meal, finding himself heavy and pained in the stomach, laid him down on his bed, but ere his doctors, who made great haste, came to him, was found speechless, and soon after died with grief, as is supposed, of his ill success against Demetrius. Before his death, though it were speedy, he would be shorn and new christened. He had but one son, whom he loved so fondly, as not to suffer him out of sight; using to say he was lord and father of his son, and yet his servant, yea his slave. To gain the people's love, which he had lost by his ill getting the empire, he used two policies; first he caused Mosco to be fired in four places, that in the quenching thereof he might shew his great care and tenderness of the people; among whom he likewise distributed so much of his bounty, as both new built their houses, and repaired their losses. At another time the people murmuring, that the great pestilence, which had then swept away a third part of the nation, was the punishment of their electing him, a murderer, to reign over them, he built galleries round the utmost wall of Mosco, and there appointed for one whole month twenty thousand pounds to be given to the poor, which well nigh stopped their mouths. After the death of Boris, Peter Basman, their only hope and refuge, though a young man, was sent again to the wars, with many English, Scots, French, and Dutch; who all with the other general Golecche fell off to the new Demetrius, whose messengers, coming now to the suburbs of Mosco, were brought by the multitude to that spacious field before the castle gate, within which the council were then sitting, many of whom were by the people's threatening called out, and constrained to hear the letters of Demetrius openly read: which, long ere the end, wrought so with the multitude, that furiously they broke into the castle, laying violence on all they met; when straight appeared coming towards them two messengers of Demetrius formerly sent, pitifully whipped and roasted, which added to their rage. Then was the whole city in an uproar, all the great counsellors' houses ransacked, especially of the Godonovus,

the kindred and family of Boris. Such of the nobles as were best beloved by entreaty prevailed at length to put an end to this tumult. The empress, flying to a safer place, had her collar of pearl pulled from her neck; and by the same message command was given to secure her, with her son and daughter. Whereupon Demetrius by general consent was proclaimed emperor. The empress, now seeing all lost, counselled the prince her son to follow his father's example, who, it seems, had dispatched himself by poison; and she, desperate courage beginning the deadly health, was played effectually by her son, but the daughter, only sipping, escaped. Others ascribe this deed to the secret command of Demetrius and self-murder imputed to them, to avoid the envy of such command.

Demetrius Evanowich, for so he called himself, who succeeded,[5] was credibly reported the son of Gregory Peupe, a Russe gentleman, and in his younger years to have been shorn a friar, but escaping from the monastery, to have travelled Germany and other countries, but chiefly Poland, where he attained to good sufficiency in arms and other experience, which raised in him such high thoughts, as, grounded on a common belief among the Russians that the young Demetrius was not dead, but conveyed away, and their hatred against Boris, on this foundation, with some other circumstances, to build his hopes no lower than an empire; which on his first discovery found acceptation so generally, as placed him at length on the royal seat: but not so firmly as the beginning promised; for in a short time the Russians finding themselves abused by an impostor, on the sixth day after his marriage, observing when his guard of Poles were most secure, rushing into the palace before break of day, dragged him out of his bed, and when he had confessed the fraud, pulled him to pieces; with him Peter Basman was also slain, and both their dead bodies laid open in the market-place. He was of no presence, but otherwise of a princely disposition; somewhat bountiful, which occasioned some exactions; in other matters a great lover of justice, not unworthy the empire which he had gotten, and lost only through greatness of mind, neglecting the conspiracy, which he knew the Russians were plotting. Some say their hatred grew, for that they saw [illegible]

[5] Purch. part 3. p. 764.

alienated from the Russian manners and religion, having made Buchinskoy a learned protestant his secretary. Some report from Gilbert's relation, who was a Scot, a captain of his guard, that lying on his bed awake, not long before the conspiracy, he saw the appearance of an aged man coming toward him, at which he rose, and called to them that watched: but they denied to have seen any such pass by them. He returning to his bed, and within an hour after, troubled again with the same apparition, sent for Buchinskoy, telling him he had now twice the same night seen an aged man, who at his second coming told him, that though he were a good prince of himself, yet for the injustice and oppression of his inferior ministers, his empire should be taken from him. The secretary counselled him to embrace true religion, affirming that for lack thereof his officers were so corrupt. The emperor seemed to be much moved, and to intend what was persuaded him. But a few days after, the other secretary, a Russian, came to him with a drawn sword, of which the emperor made slight at first; but he after bold words assaulted him, straight seconded by other conspirators, crying liberty. Gilbert, with many of the guard oversuddenly surprised, retreated to Coluga, a town which they fortified; most of the other strangers were massacred, except the English, whose mediation also saved Buchinskoy. Shusky, who succeeded him, reports in a letter to King James otherwise of him; that his right name was Gryshca the son of Boughdan; that to escape punishment for villanies done, he turned friar, and fell at last to the black art; and fearing that the metropolitan intended therefore to imprison him, fled into Lettow; where by counsel of Sigismund the Poland king, he began to call himself Demetry of Ouglitts; and by many libels and spies privily sent into Mosco, gave out the same; that many letters and messengers thereupon were sent from Boris into Poland, and from the patriarch, to acquaint them who the runnagate was: but the Polanders giving them no credit, furnished him the more with arms and money, notwithstanding the league; and sent the palatine Sandamersko and other lords to accompany him into Russia, gaining also a prince of the Crim Tartars to his aid; that the army of Boris, hearing of his sudden death, yielded to this Gryshca, who, taking to wife the daughter of Sandamersko, attempted to root out the Russian clergy, and to bring in the Romish

religion, for which purpose many Jesuits came along with him. Whereupon Shusky with the nobles and metropolitans, conspiring against him, in half a year gathered all the forces of Moscovia, and surprising him, found in writing under his own hand all these his intentions; letters also from the pope and cardinals to the same effect, not only to set up the religion of Rome, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refused.

Vasily Evanowich Shusky,[6] after the slaughter of Demetry or Gryshca, was elected emperor, having not long before been at the block for reporting to have seen the true Demetrius dead and buried; but Gryshca not only recalled him, but advanced him to be the instrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of fifty; nobly descended, never married, of great wisdom reputed, a favourer of the English: for he saved them from rifling in the former tumults. Some say he modestly refused the crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him; yet after that, growing jealous of his title, removed by poison and other means all the nobles that were like to stand his rivals; and is said to have consulted with witches of the Samoeds, Lappians, and Tartarians, about the same fears; and being warned of one Michalowich to have put to death three of that name, yet a fourth was reserved by fate to succeed him, being then a youth attendant in the court, one of those that held the golden axes, and least suspected. But before that time he also was supplanted by another reviving Demetrius brought in by the Poles; whose counterfeited land and strange relating of privatest circumstances, had almost deceived Gilbert himself, had not their persons been utterly unlike; but Gryshca's wife so far believed him for her Lord and husband, as to receive him to her bed. Shusky, besieged in his castle of Mosco, was adventurously supplied with some powder and ammunition by the English; and with two thousand French, English, and Scots, with other forces from Charles king of Sweden. The[6] English, after many miseries of cold and hunger, and assaults by the way, deserted by the French, yielded most of them to the Pole, near Smolensko, and served him against the Russ. [7]Meanwhile this second Demetrius being now rejected by the Poles, with those Russians that

[6] Post Christ. 1606. [7] Purch. part. p. 769, &c. [8] Post Christ. 1609.
[9] Purch. 779.

ded with him, laid siege to Mosco; Zolkiewsky, for Sigismund king of Poland, beleaguers on the other side with forty housand men; whereof fifteen hundred English, Scotch, and rench. Shusky, despairing success, betakes him to a monastry; but with the city is yielded to the Pole; who turns now is force against the counterfeit Demetrius; he seeking to fly, by a Tartar slain in his camp. Smolensko held out a siege of wo years, then surrendered. Shusky the emperor, carried way into Poland, there ended miserably in prison. But before his departure out of Moscovy, the Polanders in his name nding for the chief nobility, as to a last farewell, cause them be entertained in a secret place and there dispatched: by his means the easier to subdue the people. Yet the Poles ere starved at length out of those places in Mosco, which hey had fortified. Wherein the Russians, who besieged them, ound, as is reported, sixty barrels of man's flesh powdered, being he bodies of such as died among them, or were slain in fight.

[1] After which the empire of Russia broke to pieces, the prey f such as could catch, every one naming himself, and striving o be accounted, that Demetrius of Oughtts. Some chose Uladislaus King Sigismund's son, but he not accepting, they ell to a popular government; killing all the nobles under retence of favouring the Poles. Some overtures of receiving hem were made, as some say, to king James, and Sir John Merie and Sir William Russell employed therein. Thus Russia emaining in this confusion, it happened that a mean man, a utcher, dwelling in the north about Duina, inveighing against he baseness of their nobility,[2] and the corruption of officers, attered words, that if they would but choose a faithful treasurer to pay well the soldiers, and a good general, (naming one Pozarsky, a poor gentleman, who after good service done, ived not far off retired and neglected,) that then he doubted not to drive out the Poles. The people assent, and choose hat general; the butcher they make their treasurer; who both so well discharged their places, that with an army soon gathered they raise the siege of Mosco, which the Polanders had renewed; and with Boris Licin, another great soldier of that country, fall into consultation about the choice of an emperor, and choose at last Michalowich, or Michael Pheodowich, the fatal youth, whose name Shusky so feared.

[1] Post Christ. 1612 [2] Purch. part 3. 790.

Michael Pheodorowich thus elected by the valour of
saraky and Boris Licin, made them both generals of his fo
joining with them another great commander of the Cos
whose aid had much befriended him; the butcher also
made a counsellor of state. Finally, a peace was made
between the Russians and the Poles; and that partly by
mediation of King James.

CHAP. V.—The First Discovery of Russia by the North-East, 1553, with the English Embassies, A Entertainments at that Court, until the year 16

The discovery of Russia by the northern ocean,[4] made first, any nation that we know, by Englishmen, might have seem an enterprise almost heroic; if any higher end than the e cessive love of gain and traffic had animated the design. Nev theless, that in regard that many things not unprofitable the knowledge of nature, and other observations, are here come to light, as good events ofttimes arise from evil oc sions, it will not be the worst labour to relate briefly the ginning and prosecution of this adventurous voyage; until became at last a familiar passage.

When our merchants perceived the commodities of Engl to be in small request abroad, and foreign merchandis grow higher in esteem and value than before, they begu think with themselves how this might be remedied. seeing how the Spaniards and Portugals had increased t wealth by discovery of new trades and countries, they res upon some new and strange navigation. At the same Sebastian Chabota, a man for the knowledge of sea a much renowned in those days, happened to be in Lon With him first they consult; and by his advice conclu furnish out three ships for the search and discovery o northern parts. And having heard that a certain wo bred in that ocean, which many times eateth throug strongest oak, they contrive to cover some part of the b those ships with thin sheets of lead, and victual ther eighteen months; allowing equally to their journey, stay, and their return. Arms also they provide, and st

[3] Post Christ. 1613 [4] Hac. vol. i. 243, 234.

nition, with sufficient captains and governors for so great enterprise. To which among many, and some void of experience, that offered themselves, Sir Hugh Willoughby, a valiant gentleman, earnestly requested to have the charge. Of whom, before all others both for his goodly personage, and singular skill in the services of war, they made choice to be admiral; and of Richard Chancelor, a man greatly esteemed for his skill, to be chief pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards deputy of Ireland, who coming where the adventurers were gathered together, though then a young man, with a grave and elegant speech commended Chancelor unto them.

After this, they omitted no inquiry after any person that might inform them concerning those north-easterly parts, to which the voyage tended, and two Tartarians then of the king's stable were sent for; but they were able to answer nothing to purpose. So after much debate it was concluded, that by the twentieth of May the ships should depart. Being come near Greenwich, where the court then lay, presently the courtiers came running out, the privy council at the windows, the rest on the towers and battlements. The mariners all appareled in watchet, or sky-coloured cloth, discharge their ordnance: the noise whereof, and of the people shouting, is answered from the hills and waters with as loud an echo. But the good King Edward then sick beheld not this sight, for he died soon after. From hence putting into Harwich, they stayed long and lost much time. At length passing by Shetland, they kenned a far off Ægelands, being an innumerable sort of islands called Rost Islands, in sixty-six degrees. Thence to Lofoot in sixty-eight, to Senam in seventy degrees; these islands belong all to the crown of Denmark. Whence departing Sir Hugh Willoughby set out his flag, by which he called together the chief men of his other ships to counsel; where they concluded, in case they happened to be scattered by tempest, that Wardhouse, a noted haven in Finmark, be the appointed place of their meeting. The very same day afternoon so great a tempest arose, that the ships were some driven one way, some another, in great peril. The general with his loudest voice called to Chancelor not to be far from him; but in vain. For the admiral sailing much better than his ship, and bearing but her sails, was carried with great swiftness soon out of

depth of winter; and there determining to abi
sent out three men south-west to find inh
journied three days, but found none; then otl
westward four days' journey, and lastly three s
days; but they all returning without news of
sign of habitation, Sir Hugh with the compa
ships abode there till January, as appears by a
in one of the ships; but then perished all wi
river or haven was Arzina in Lapland, near to Keg
were found dead the year after by certain Russ
Whereof the English agent at Mosco having n
recovered the ships with their dead bodies an
goods, and sent them for England; but the sh
staunch, as is supposed, by the two years
Lapland, sunk by the way with their dead, and
brought them. But now Chancelor, with his
pany thus left, shaped his course to Wardho
agreed on to expect the rest; where having sta
without tidings of them, he resolves at length t
voyage; and sailed so far till he found no night,
day and sun clearly shining on that huge and v
tain days. At length they enter into a great b
they knew after, from St. Nicholas; and spying
made after him to know what people they were
men amazed with the greatness of his ship, to then
new sight, sought to fly; but overtaken, in g
prostrate themselves, and offer to kiss his feet;

ad of their king. After mutual demands of each other's nation, hey found themselves to be in Russia, where Juan Vasilwich that time reigned emperor. To whom privily the governor f that place sending notice of the strange guests that were rrived, held in the mean while our men in what suspense he ould. The emperor well pleased with so unexpected a mes-ge, invites them to his court, offering them post horses at s own charge, or if the journey seemed over long, that they ight freely traffic where they were. But ere this messen-er could return, having lost his way, the Moscovites them-lves, loath that our men should depart, which they made new to do, furnished them with guides and other con-niences, to bring them to their king's presence. Chan-elor had now gone more than half his journey, when the edman sent to court meets him on the way; delivers him the mperor's letter; which when the Russes understood, so illing they were to obey the contents thereof, that they quarrelled and strove who should have the preferment to put his horses to the sledge So after a long and troublesome ourney of fifteen hundred miles he arrived at Mosco. After e had remained in the city about twelve days, a messenger as sent to bring them to the king's house. Being entered ithin the court gates, and brought into an outward cham-er, they beheld there a very honourable company to the umber of a hundred, sitting all apparelled in cloth of gold own to their ancles: next conducted to the chamber of pre-nce, there sat the emperor on a lofty and very royal throne; n his head a diadem of gold, his robe all of goldsmith's work, n his hand a crystal sceptre garnished and beset with precious tones; no less was his countenance full of majesty. Beside im stood his chief secretary, on his other side the great ommander of silence, both in cloth of gold; then sat his ouncil of a hundred and fifty round about on high seats, clad ll as richly. Chancelor, nothing abashed, made his obeisance o the emperor after the English manner. The emperor hav-ng taken and read his letters, after some inquiry of King dward's health, invited them to dinner, and till then dis-nissed them. But before dismission the secretary presented heir present bareheaded, till which time they were all covered; nd before admittance our men had charge not to speak, but when the emperor demanded aught. Having sat two hours in he secretary's chamber, they were at length called in to

[illegible] The messes [illegible] both to the [illegible] were two hu[illegible] of gold with [illegible] were likewi[illegible] heads. They [illegible] same bench with the emp[illegible] according to the custom [illegible] slice of bread, whom the [illegible] emperor of Russ, [illegible] at which words all men st[illegible] were [illegible] several pieces served in, each p[illegible] dish, which the great duke sends about as the [illegible] likewise the drink. In dinner time he twic[illegible] crown, his waiters thrice their apparel, to whom [illegible] in like manner gives both bread and drink with hi[illegible] which they say is done to the intent that he [illegible] know his own household, and indeed when dinn[illegible] he called his nobles every one before him by na[illegible] this time candles were brought in, for it grew dar[illegible] English departed to their lodgings from dinner, an [illegible] night.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty five,[7] Chanc[illegible] another voyage to this place with letters from Que[illegible] had a house in Mosco, and diet appointed him; and [illegible] admitted to the emperor's presence in a large room spr[illegible] carpets; at his entering and salutation all stood up, [illegible] peror only sitting, except when the queen's name was [illegible] spoken; for then he himself would rise: at dinner [illegible] bareheaded; his crown and rich cap standing on a pinn[illegible] [8]Chancelor returning for England, Osep Napea, gover[illegible]

[7] Hac. 258, 263, 465.

[8] Ibid. 286.

...n, came in his ship embassador from the Russe; but ...g shipwreck in Pettislego, a bay in Scotland, Chan... who took more care to save the embassador than himself, ...rowned, the ship rifled, and most of her lading made ... by the people thereabout.[9]

...the year fifteen hundred and fifty-seven, Osep Napea re... ...d into his country with Anthony Jenkinson, who had the ...mand of four tall ships. He reports of a whirlpool between ...ost Islands and Lofoot, called Malestrand; which from ...ebb to half flood is heard to make so terrible a noise, as ...es the door-rings of houses in those islands ten miles off; ...es that come within the current thereof make a pitiful ...; trees carried in and cast out again have the ends and ...ghs of them so beaten, as they seem like the stalks of ...ised hemp. About Zemam they saw many whales very ...nstrous, hard by their ships; whereof some by estimation ...ty foot long, they roared hideously, it being then the time ... their engendering. At Wardhouse, he saith, the cattle are ...d with fish. Coming to Mosco, he found the emperor sitting ...oft in a chair of state, richly crowned, a staff of gold in his ...and wrought with costly stone. Distant from him sat his ...rother, and a youth the emperor's son of Casan, whom the Russe had conquered; there dined with him diverse embassadors, christian and heathen, diversely apparelled: his brother with some of the chief nobles sat with him at table: the guests were in all six hundred. In dinner-time came in six musicians, and standing in the midst, sung three several times, but with little or no delight to our men; there dined at the same time in other halls two thousand Tartars, who came to serve the duke in his wars. The English were set at a small table by themselves, direct before the emperor; who sent them diverse bowls of wines and meath, and many dishes from his own hand: the messes were but mean, but the change of wines and several meaths were wonderful. As oft as they ...ined with the emperor, he sent for them in the morning, and invited them with his own mouth.[1] On Christmas day being invited, they had for other provison as before, but for store of gold and silver plate excessive; among which were twelve barrels of silver, hooped with fine gold, containing twelve gallons apiece.

[9] Hac. 310, &c. [1] Ibid. 317.

In the year fifteen hundred and sixty was the first Engli traffic to the Narve in Livonia, till then concealed by Dun kers and Lubeckers.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-one. The same Anthony Jen kinson made another voyage to Mosco; and arrived while th emperor was celebrating his marriage with a Circassian lady during which time the city gates for three days were kep shut; and all men whatsoever straitly commanded to kee within their houses, except some of his household; the cau whereof is not known.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-six. He made again the sam voyage,[2] which now men usually made in a month from Lon don to St. Nicholas with good winds, being seven hundre and fifty leagues.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-eight. Thomas Randolf, Eng went embassador to Moscovy,[3] from Queen Elizabeth, a his passage by sea met nothing remarkable save great stor of whales, whom they might see engendering together, and the spermaceti swimming on the water. At Colmogro he was met by a gentlemen from the emperor, at whose charge he was conducted to Mosco: but met there by no man not so much as the English; lodged in a fair house built for embassadors; but there confined upon some suspicion which the emperor had conceived; sent for at length afte seventeen weeks' delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrowed horse, his men on foot. In a chamber before the presence were sitting about three hundred persons, all in rich robes taken out of the emperor's wardrobe for that day: they sat on three ranks of benches, rather for show than that the persons were of honour; being merchants, and other mean inhabitants. The embassador saluted them, but by them unsaluted passed on with his head covered. At the presence door he was received by two which had been his guardians, and brought into the midst, he was there willed to stand still, and speak his message from the queen; at whose name the emperor stood up, and demanded her health: then giving the embassador his hand to kiss, fell to many questions. The present being delivered, which was a great silver bowl curiously graved, the emperor told him, he dined not that day openly because of great affairs; but, saith he, I will send thee my dinner and augment thy allowance. And so dismissing him, sent a dish

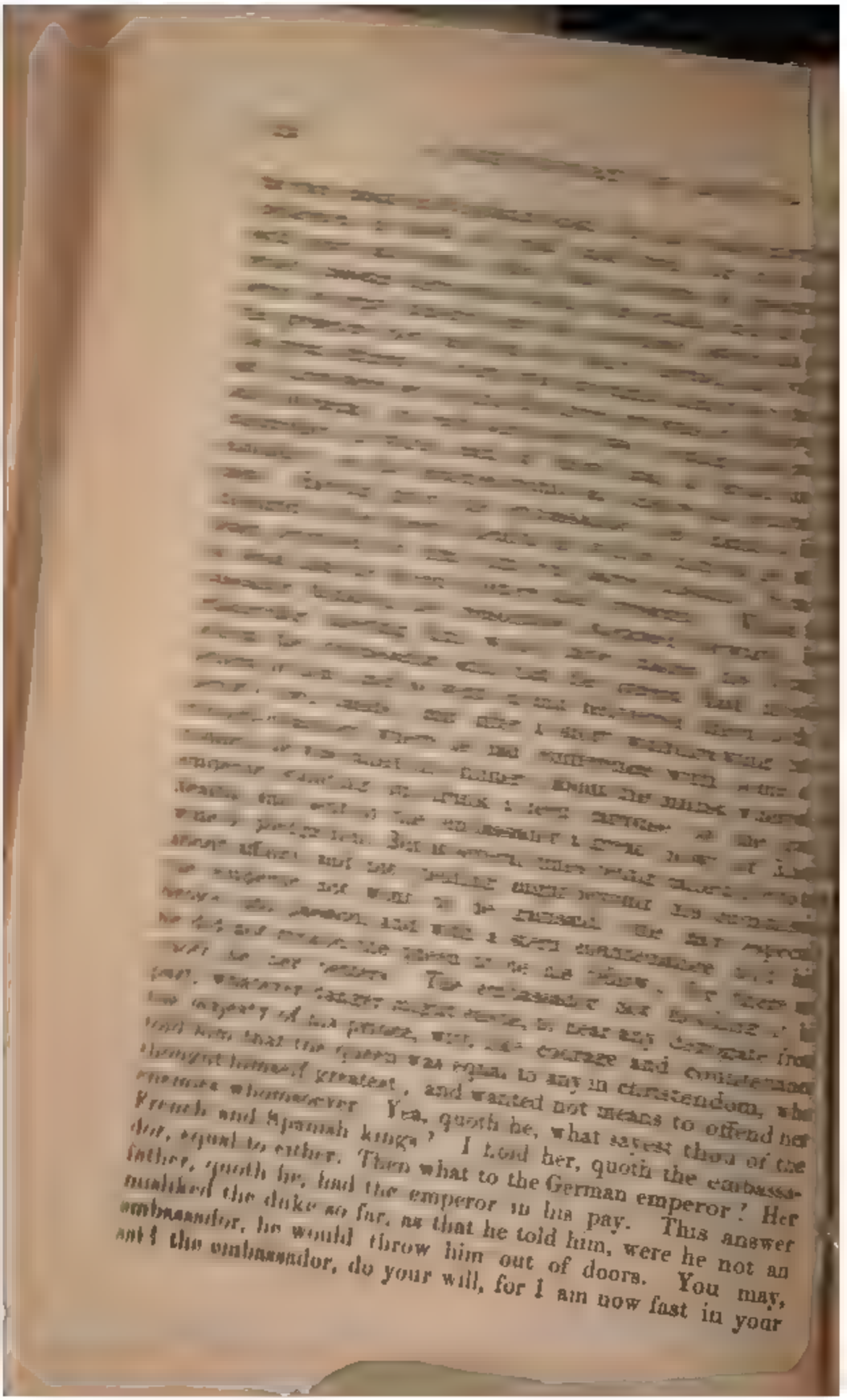
[2] Hac. 311 [3] Ibid. 373.

richly apparelled soon after to his lodging, with fifty persons, each of them carrying meat in silver dishes covered; which himself delivered into the embassador's own hands, tasting first of every dish, and every sort of drink; that done, set him down with his company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The emperor sent back with this embassador another of his own called Andrew Savin.

Fifteen hundred and seventy-one. Jenkinson made a third voyage; but was staid long at Colmogro by reason of the plague in those parts; at length had audience where the court then was, near to Pereslave; to which place the emperor was returned from his Swedish war with ill success: and Mosco the same year had been wholly burnt by the Crim: in it the English house, and diverse English were smothered in the cellars, multitudes of the people in the city perished, all that were young led captive with exceeding spoil.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-three.[4] Juan Basiliwich having the year before sent his embassador Pheodor Andrewich about matters of commerce, the queen made choice of Sir Jerome Bowes, one of her household, to go into Russia; who being attended with more than forty persons, and accompanied with the Russe returning home, arrived at St. Nicholas. The Dutch by this time had intruded into the Muscovy trade, which by privilege long before had been granted solely to the English; and had corrupted to their side Shalkan the chancellor, with others of the great ones; who so wrought, that a creature of their own was sent to meet Sir Jerome at Colmorgo, and to offer him occasions of dislike: until at Vologda he was received by another from the emperor; and at Heraslave by a duke well accompanied, who presented him with a coach and ten geldings. Two miles from Mosco met him four gentlemen with two hundred horse, who, after short salutation, told him what they had to say from the emperor, wiling him to alight, which the embassador soon refused, unless they also alighted, whereon they stood long debating; at length agreed, great dispute followed, whose foot should first touch the ground. Their message delivered, and then embracing, they conducted the embassador to a house at Mosco, built for him purposely. At his going to court, he and his followers honourably mounted and apparelled, the emperor's guard were set on either side all

[4] Hac. vol. i. 485.



country; but the queen I doubt not, will know how to be revenged of any injury offered to her embassador. Whereat the emperor in great sudden bid him get home; and he with no more reverence than such usage required, saluted the emperor, and went his way. Notwithstanding this, the Muscovite, soon as his mood left him, spake to them that stood by many praises of the embassador, wishing that he had such a servant, and presently after sent his chief secretary to tell him, that whatever had passed in words, yet for his great respect to the queen, he would shortly after dispatch him with honour and full contentment, and in the mean while he much enlarged his entertainment. He also desired, that the points of our religion might be set down, and caused them to be read to his nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had sought in marriage the lady Mary Hastings, which took not effect, the lady and her friends excusing it, he now again renewed the motion to take to wife some one of the queen's kinswomen, either by sending an embassage, or going himself with his treasure into England. Now happy was that nobleman whom Sir Jerom Bowes in public favoured: unhappy they who had opposed him: for the emperor had beaten Shalkan the chancellor very grievously for that cause, and threatened not to leave one of his race alive. But the emperor dying soon after of a surfeit, Shalkan, to whom then almost the whole government was committed, caused the embassador to remain close prisoner in his house nine weeks. Being sent for at length to have his dispatch, and slightly enough conducted to the council-chamber, he was told by Shalkan, that this emperor would condescend to no other agreements than were between his father and the queen before his coming: and so disarming both him and his company, brought them to the emperor with many affronts in their passage, for which there was no help but patience. The emperor, saying but over what the chancellor had said before, offered him a letter to the queen: which the embassador, knowing it contained nothing to the purpose of his embassy, refused, till he saw his danger grow too great; nor was he suffered to reply, or have his interpreter. Shalkan sent him word now the English emperor was dead; and hastened his departure, but with so many disgraces put upon him, as made him fear some mischief in his journey to the sea: having only one mean gentleman sent with him to be

his convoy, he commanded the English m
queen's name to accompany him, but such w
that they durst not. So arming himself and h
the best wise he could, against any outrage, he
covered the shore of St. Nicholas. Where he
to send them back by his conduct some of the
he had received. Ready therefore to take shi
three or four of his valiantest and discreetest men
emperor's letter and disgraceful present, and to d
leave it at the lodging of his convoy, which they
though followed with a great tumult of such as w
forced them to take it back.

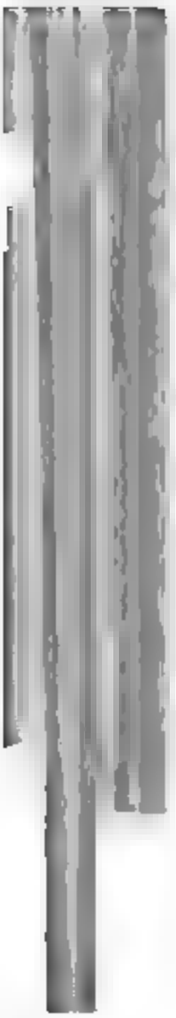
Fifteen hundred and eighty-four. At the coro
Pheodor the emperor, Jerom Horsey being then
Russia, and called for to court with one John de Wa
chant of the Netherlands and a subject of Spain, son
nobles would have preferred the Fleming before the h
But to that our agent would in no case agree, saying he
rather have his legs cut off by the knees, than bring h
sent in course after a subject of Spain. The empero
prince Boris perceiving the controversy, gave order to
Horsey first: who was dismissed with large promises
seventy messes with three carts of several meath sent
him.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-eight. Dr. Giles Fletcher w
embassador from the queen to Pheodor then emperor, wh
relations being judicious and exact are best read entirely
themselves. [5] This emperor, upon report of the great learni
of John Dee the mathematician, invited him to Mosco, wi
offer of two thousand pounds a year, and from prince Bor
one thousand marks; to have his provision from the emperor'
table, to be honourably received, and accounted as one of the
chief men in the land. All which Dee accepted not.

One thousand six hundred and four. Sir Thomas Smith
was sent embassador from King James to Boris then emperor;
and staid some days at a place five miles from Mosco, till he
was honourably received into the city; met on horseback by
many thousands of gentlemen and nobles on both sides the
way; where the embassador alighting from his coach, and
mounted on his horse, rode with his trumpets sounding before

[5] Hack. 508.

till a gentlemen of the emperor's stable brought him a t gorgeously trapped with gold, pearl, and stone, ea- dly with a great chain of plated gold about his neck, and s richly adorned for his followers. Then came three noblemen with an interpreter offering a speech; but the ssador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief compli- t found means to put it by Thus alighting all, they ed, and gave hands mutually. Those three, after a tedious mble of the emperor's title thrice repeated, brought a ral compliment of three words apiece, as namely, the , To know how the king did; the next, How the embassa- ; the third, That there was a fair house provided him. en on they went on either hand of the embassador, and out six thousand gallants behind them; still met within the y by more of greater quality to the very gate of his lodging: ere fifty gunners were his daily guard both at home and road. The prestaves, or gentlemen assigned to have the re of his entertainment, were earnest to have had the em- assador's speech and message given them in writing, that e interpreter, as they pretended, might the better translate ; but he admonished them of their foolish demand. On the lay of his audience, other gennets were sent him and his at- endants to ride on, and two white palfreys to draw a rich chariot, which was parcel of the present, the rest whereof was carried by his followers through a lane of the emperor's guard, many messengers posting up and down the while, till they came through the great castle, to the uttermost court gate. There met by a great duke, they were brought up stairs through a stone gallery, where stood on each hand many in fair coats of Persian stuff, velvet, and damask. The embas- sador by two other counsellors being led into the presence, after his obeisance done, was to stay and hear again the long title repeated, then the particular presents; and so delivered as much of his embassage as was then requisite. After which the emperor, arising from his throne, demanded of the king's health; so did the young prince. The embassador then de- livered his letters into the emperor's own hand, though the chancellor offered to have taken them. He bore the majesty of a mighty emperor, his crown and sceptre of pure gold, a collar of pearls about his neck, his garment of crimson velvet embroidered with precious stone and gold. On his right side



or tapestry. Dismissed, and brought in again they saw the emperor and his son seated in stat dine; each with a skull of pearl on their bare h vestments changed. In the midst of this hall seem a pillar heaped round to a great height with m curiously wrought with beasts, fishes, and fowl. peror's table was served with two hundred noblem of gold; the prince's table with young dukes of Ca can, Siberia, Tartaria, and Circassia. The emperor his table to the embassador thirty dishes of meat, loaf of extraordinary fine bread. Then followed more of strange and rare dishes piled up by half d boiled, roast, and baked, most part of them bes garlic and onions. In midst of dinner calling the e up to him he drank the king's health, who receiv his hand, returned to his place, and in the same cu fair chrystal, pledged it with all his company. A they were called up to drink of excellent and str from the emperor's hand; of which when many d he urged it not; saying he was best pleased witl most for their health. Yet after that, the same c a great and glorious duke, one of them that held poleaxe, with his retinue, and sundry sorts of meat merrily with the embassador, which some of the E until the duke and his followers, lightheaded, bu warded with thirty yards of cloth of gold, and tw cups, departed. At second audience the embassad

Names of the Authors from whence these Relations have been taken; being all either Eyewitnesses, or immediate Relaters from such as were.

The journal of Sir Hugh Willoughby.
Discourse of Richard Chancelor.
Another of Clement Adams, taken from the mouth of Chancelor.
Notes of Richard Johnson, servant to Chancelor.
The Protonotaries Register.
Two Letters of Mr. Hen. Lane.
Several voyages of Jenkinson.
Southam and Sparks.
The journal of Randolf the embassador.
Another of Sir Jerom Bowes.
The coronation of Pheodor, written by Jerom Horsey.
Gourdon of Hull's voyage to Pechora.
The voyage of William Pursglove to Pechora.
Of Josias Logan.
Hessel Gerardus, out of Purchas, part 3, l. 3.
Russian relations in Purch. 797. ibid. 806. ibid.
The embassage of Sir Thomas Smith.
Papers of Mr. Hackluit.
Jansonius.

ACCEDENCE

COMMENCED GRAMMAR,

SUPPLIED WITH

SUFFICIENT RULES

FOR THE USE OF SUCH AS, YOUNGER OR ELDER, ARE DESIROUS WITH OUT MORE TROUBLE THAN NEEDS, TO ATTAIN THE LATIN TONGUE; THE ELDER SORT ESPECIALLY, WITH LITTLE TEACHING AND THEIR OWN INDUSTRY.

[FIRST PUBLISHED, 1669.]

TO THE READER.

It hath been long a general complaint, not without cause, the bringing up of youth, and still is, that the tenth part man's life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, a that very scarcely, the LATIN TONGUE. Which tardy pr ficience may be attributed to several causes: in particular, t making two labours of one, by learning first the Acceden then the Grammar in Latin, ere the language of those ru be understood. The only remedy of this was to join b books into one, and in the English Tongue; whereby long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of understand much more easy: a work supposed not to have been d formerly; or if done, not without such difference here brevity and alteration, as may be found of moment. That Grammar, touching letters and syllables, is omitted, as lea before, and little different from the English Spelling-boo especially since few will be persuaded, to pronounce La otherwise than their own English. What will not come un rule, by reason of the much variety in declension, gender, construction, is also here omitted, lest the course and cle ness of method be clogged with catalogues instead of ru or too much interruption between rule and rule: which I aker, setting down the various idioms of many verbs, v

d to do by alphabet, and therefore, though very learned, thought fit to be read in schools. But in such words, a onary stored with good authorities will be found the est guide. Of figurate construction, what is useful is ted into several rules of Syntaxis: and Prosody, after Grammar well learned, will not need to be Englished for who hath a mind to read it. Account might be now what addition or alteration from other Grammars hath here made, and for what reason. But he who would be in teaching, must not be long in prefacing: the book follows, and will declare sufficiently to them who can

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ACCEDENCE COMMENCED GRAMMAR.

Grammar is the art of right understanding, speaking, riting Latin, observed from them who have spoken or en it best.

ammar hath two parts: right wording, usually called ology; and right joining of words, or Syntaxis.

ymology, or right wording, teacheth what belongs to single word or part of speech.

Of Latin Speech are eight General parts.

oun onoun rb rticiple	} Declined.	Adverb Conjunction Preposition Interjection	} Undeclined.

CLINED are those words which have divers endings; as a man, hominis of a man; amo I love, amas thou t. Undeclined are those words which have but one g, as bene well, cum when, tum then.

ouns, pronouns, and participles are declined with gender, ber, and case; verbs, as hereafter in the verb.

Of Genders.

NDERS are three, the masculine, feminine, and neuter. masculine may be declined with this article hic, as hic vir n; the feminine with this article, hæc, as hæc mulier a an; the neuter with this article, hoc, as hoc saxum a

Of the nouns are generally

Nouns are names of things

If the nouns signify

the

Nouns, [illegible] Frenchmen, and such as

Nouns, [illegible] ox, ewe, and such as

Nouns [illegible] of both kinds, as parent

Nouns [illegible] of two genders, as hic or

Nouns [illegible] of two genders, as hic or

Nouns [illegible] of one gender, as lapis a stone

Nouns [illegible] of one gender, as lapis a stone

Nouns [illegible] of one gender, as lapis a stone

ative, are like in both numbers, and in the plural end ays in a.

he ab.ative is englished with these signs, *in*, *with*, *of*, *for*, *by*, and such like, as de libro of or from the book, pro for the book: and the ablative plural is always like the ve.

ote, that some nouns have but one ending throughout all as frugi, nequam, nihil; and all words of number from e to a hundred, as quatuor four, quinque five, &c.

ome have but one, some two, some three cases only, in singular or plural, as use will best teach.

Of a Noun.

NOUN is the name of a thing, as manus a hand, domus a se, bonus good, pulcher fair.

ouns be substantives or adjectives.

noun substantive is understood by itself, as homo a man, us a house.

n adjective, to be well understood, requireth a substantive e joined with it, as bonus good, parvus little, which can- be well understood unless something good or little be er named, as bonus vir a good man, parvus puer a little ; or by use understood, as honestum an honest thing, good men.

The Declining of Substantives.

OUNS substantives have five declensions or forms of ending r cases, chiefly distinguished by the different ending of r genitive singular.

The first Declension.

HE first is when the genitive and dative singular end in æ, as in the example following.

Singular.	*Plural.*
No. Voc. Abl. musa	*Nom. Voc.* musæ
Gen. Dat. musæ	*Gen.* musarum
Acc. musam	*Dat. Abl.* musis
	Acc. musas

his one word familia joined with pater, mater, filius, or a, endeth the genitive in as, as pater familias, but some- es familiæ. Dea, mula, equa, liberta, make the dative and tive plural in abus; filia and nata in is or abus.

The first declension endeth always in a, unless in s words derived of the Greek: and is always of the femi gender, except in names attributed to men, according to general rule, or to stars, as cometa, planeta.

Nouns, and especially proper names derived of the Gre have here three endings, as, es, e, and are declined in some their cases after the Greek form. Æneas, acc. Æneam, v Ænea; Anchises, acc. Anchisen, voc. Anchise, or Anchi abl. Anchise. Penelope, Penelopes, Penelopen, voc. P Penelope. Sometimes following the Latin, as Marsya, P locteta, for as and es; Philoctetam, Eriphylam, for an e en. Cic.

The second Declension.

THE second is when the genitive singular endeth in i, dative in o, &c.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. liber	*Nom. Voc.* libri
Gen. libri	*Gen.* librorum
Dat. Abl. libro	*Dat. Abl.* libris
Acc. librum.	*Acc.* libros.

Note, that when the nominative endeth in us, the voc shall end in e, as dominus ô domine, except deus ô deus. these following, agnus, lucus, vulgus, populus, chorus, flu e or us.

When the nominative endeth in ius, if it be the proper of a man, the vocative shall end in i, as Georgius ô Ge hereto add filius ô fili, and genius ô geni.

All nouns of the second declension are of the masculi neuter gender; of the masculine, such as end in er, or, (except some few, humus, domus, alvus, and others deriv the Greek, as methodus, antidotus, and the like, whic of the feminine, and some of them sometimes also masculi atomus, phaselus; to which add ficus the name of a di grossus, pampinus, and rubus.

Those of the neuter, except virus, pelagus, and vu (which last is sometimes masculine,) end all in um, an declined as followeth:

Singular.	*Plurai.*
Nom. Ac. Voc. studium	*Nom. Ac. Voc.* studia
Gen. studii	*Gen.* studiorum
Dat. Abl. studio.	*Dat. Abl.* studiis.

Some nouns in this declension are of the first example singular, of the second plural, as Pergamus the city Troy, plur. hæc Pergama; and some names of hills, as Mænalus, Ismarus, hæc Ismara; so also Tartarus, and the lake Avernus; others are of both, as sibilus, jocus, locus, hi loci, or hæc loca. Some are of the second example singular, of the first plural, as Argos, cœlum, plur. hi cœli; others of both, as rastrum, rastrum, filum, frænum; plur. fræni or fræna. Nundinum and epulum are of the first declension plural, nundinæ, epulæ, balneum of both, balneæ or balnea

Greek proper names have here three endings, os, on, and us long from a Greek diphthong. Hæc Delos, hanc Delon. Hoc Ilion. The rest regular, Hic Panthus, ô Panthu, Virg.

The third Declension.

The third is when the genitive singular endeth in is, and the dative in i, the accusative in em, the ablative in e, and sometimes in i; the nom. acc. vocc. plural in es, the genitive in um, and sometimes in ium, &c.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Gen. Voc. panis	*Nom. Acc. Voc.* panes
Dat. pani	*Gen.* panum
Acc panem	*Dat. Abl.* panibus.
Abl. pane.	

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. parens	*Nom. Ac. Voc.* parentes
Gen. parentis	*Gen.* parentum.
Dat. parenti	*Dat. Abl.* parentibus.
Acc. parentem	
Abl. parente.	

This third declension, with many endings, hath all genders, yet known by dividing all nouns hereto belonging into such as either increase one syllable long or short in the genitive, or increase not at all.

Such as increase not in the genitive are generally feminine, as nubes nubis, caro carnis.

Except such as end in er, as hic venter ventris, and these in the following, natalis, aqualis, lienis, orbis, callis, caulis, collis, follis, mensis, ensis, fustis, funis, panis, penis, crinis, ignis, cassis, fascis, torris, piscis, unguis, vermis, vectis, postis, axis, and the compounds of assis, as centussis.

…s, Palladi, Pallada: others in some cases, as Atlas, acc. …a, voc. Atla. Garamas, plur. Garamantes, acc. Garaman… Pan, Panos, Pana. Phyllis, Phyllidos, voc. Phylli, plur. …ides, acc. Phyllidas. Tethys, Tethyos, acc. Tethyn, voc. …. Neapolis Neapolios, acc. Neapolin. Paris, Paridos or …, acc. Parida, or Parin Orpheus, Orpheos, Orphei, Orphea, …n. But names in eus borrow sometimes their genitive of the …d declension, as Erechtheus, Erechthei. Cic. Achilles or …leus, Achillei; and sometimes their accusative in on or um, …pheus Orpheon, Theseus Theseum, Perseus Perseum, which …times is formed after Greek words of the first declension; …, Perseus or Perses, Persæ Peresæ Persen Persæ Persa.

The fourth Declension.

…e fourth is when the genitive singular endeth in us, the … singular in ui, and sometimes in u, plural in ibus, and …times in ubus.

Singular.	*Plural.*
…m. *Gen. Voc.* sensus	*Nom. Acc Voc.* sensus
…f. sensui	*Gen.* sensuum
…e. sensum.	*Dat. Abl.* sensibus.
…l. sensu.	

…e fourth declension hath two endings, us and u; us gene… masculine, except some few, as hæc manus, ficus, the … of a tree, acus, porticus, tribus, but penus and specus … hæc. U of the neuter, as gelu, genu, veru; but in the …lar most part defective.

…oper names in os and o long, pertaining to the fourth de…on Greek, may belong best to the fourth in Latin, as …geos, gen. Androgeo, acc. Androgeon; hic Athos, hunc … Virg.; hæc Sappho, gen Sapphus, acc. Sappho. Better …s follow the Latin form, as Dido Didonis Didonem. But … Jesu Jesum Jesu Jesu.

The fifth Declension.

…e fifth is when the genitive and dative singular end in …

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. res	*Nom. Ac. Voc.* res
Gen. Dat. rei	*Gen.* rerum
Acc. rem	*Dat. Abl.* rebus.
Abl. re.	

All nouns of the fifth declension are of t
except dies hic or hæc, and his compound
Some nouns are of more declensions thr
of the third in the singular, of the second
vasorum. Colus, laurus, and some others,
fourth. Saturnalia, saturnalium or saturn
bus, and such other names of feasts. Po
or poëmatibus, of the second and third plu
third and fifth, plebis or plebei.

The Declining of Adjective

A NOUN adjective is declined with three ter
three articles.

An adjective of three terminations is decl
and second declension of substantives join
this manner.

Singular.	*P*
N. bonus bona bonum	*No. Vo.* bo
G. boni bonæ boni	*G.* bonorun
D. bono bonæ bono	bonorur
A. bonum bonam bonum	*Dat. Abl.* b
V. bone bona bonum	*A.* bonos b
A. bono bona bono.	

In like manner those in er and ur, as sac
satur satura saturum; but unus, totus, so
ullus, uter, with their compounds neuter, uter
make their genitive singular in ius, the dative
unum, gen. unius, dat. ui, in all the rest lik
alius maketh in the neuter gender aliud, and
and sometimes in the genitive.

Ambo and duo be thus declined in the plu

Nom. Voc. ambo ambæ ambo

Singular.	*Plural.*
No. hic hæc & hoc felix	*Nom.* mi & hæ felices, & hæc felicia
Gen. felicis	*Gen* felicium
Dat. felici	*Dat Abl.* felicibus
Acc. hunc & hanc felicem, & hoc felix	*Acc.* hos & has felices, & hæc felicia
Voc. ô felix	*Voc.* ô felices, & ô felicia.
Abl. felice or felici.	

Singular.	*Plural.*
No. hic & hæc tristis & hoc triste	*Nom.* hi & hæ tristes & hæc tristia
Gen. tristis	*Gen.* tristium
Dat. Abl. tristi	*Dat. Abl.* tristibus
Acc. hunc & hanc tristem, & hoc triste	*Acc.* hos & has tristes, & hæc tristia
Voc. ô tristis, & ô triste.	*Voc.* ô tristes, & ô tristia.

There be also another sort which have in the nominative case three terminations and three articles, as hic acer, hic & hæc acris, hoc acre. In like manner be declined equester, volucer, and some few others, being in all other cases like the examples beforegoing.

Comparisons of Nouns.

ADJECTIVES, whose signification may increase or be diminished, may form comparison, whereof there be two degrees above the positive word itself, The comparative, and superlative.

The positive signifieth the thing itself without comparing, as durus hard.

The comparative exceedeth his positive in signification, compared with some other, as durior harder; and is formed of the first case of his positive that endeth in i, by putting thereto or and us, as of duri, hic & hæc durior, & hoc durius: of dulci, dulcior, dulcius.

The superlative exceedeth his positive in the highest degree, as durissimus hardest; and it is formed of the first case of his positive that endeth in is, by putting thereto simus, as of duris durissimus, dulcis dulcissimus.

If the positive end in er, the superlative is formed of the nominative case by putting to it rimus, as pulcher pulcherrimus. Like to these are vetus veterrimus, maturis maturimus; but dexter dexterrimus, and sinster, sinisterior, sinisterrimus.

All these nouns ending in lis make the s
ing is into limus, as humilis, similis, fa
docilis docillimus.

All other nouns ending in lis do follow
utilis utilissimus.

Of these positives following are formed
superlatives; of superus, supremus and
infimus and imus; exterus, extimus and
postremus.

Some of these want the positive, and
adverbs; of intra, interior intimus, ultra
citra citerior citimus, pridem prior prim
proximus

Others from positives without case, as
nequissimus.

Some also from no positive, as ocior o
want the comparative, as novus novissimus,
simus.

Some the superlative, as senex senior, ju
lescens adolescentior.

Some ending in us, frame their comparativ
in ens, benevolus, maledicus, magnificus ma
nificentissimus.

These following are without rule, bonus
malus pejor pessimus, magnus major maxim
minimus; multus plurimus, multa plurim
plurimum.

If a volume come before us, it is compared
maximè, as pius, magis pius, maximè pius
and maximè idoneus. Yet some of these fo
rule, as assiduus assiduissimus, strenuus stren
guissimus, tenuis tenuior tenuissimus.

Of a Pronoun

as meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras, vestras, cujus, and cujas, are not pronouns, but adjectives thence derived.

Of pronouns such as shew the thing present are called demonstratives, as ego, tu, hic; and such as refer to a thing antecedent, or spoken of before, are called relatives, as qui who or which.

Quis, and often qui, because they ask a question, are called interrogatives, with their compounds, ecquis, numquis.

Declensions of Pronouns are three.

Ego, tu, sui, be of the first declension, and be thus declined.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. ego	*Nom. Acc.* nos
Gen. mei	*Gen.* nostrum or nostri
Dat. mihi	*Dat. Abl.* nobis
Acc. Abl. me	*Voc.* caret.
Voc. caret.	

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. tu	*Nom. Acc. Voc.* vos
Gen. tui	*Gen.* vestrum *or* vestri
Dat. tibi	*Dat. Abl.* vobis.
Acc. Abl. te.	

Sing.	*Nom. Voc.* caret	*Dat.* sibi
Plur.	*Gen.* sui	*Acc. Abl.* se.

From these three be derived meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras, vestras, (which are called possessives,) whereof the former five be declined like adjectives of three terminations, except that meus in the vocative case maketh mi, mea, meum; nostras, vestras, with three articles, as hic and hæc nostras, and hoc nostras or nostrate, vestrate. In other cases according to rule.

These three, ille, iste, ipse, be of the second declension, making their genitive singular in ius, their dative in i; and the former two be declined like the adjective alius, and the third like unus, before spoken of.

Sing.	*Nom.* ille illa illud,	*Gen.* illius,	*Dat.* illi
	Nom. iste ista istud,	*Gen.* istius,	*Dat.* isti.
	Nom. ipse ipsa ipsum	*Gen.* ipsius,	*Dat.* ipsi.

These four, hic, is, qui, and quis, be of the third declension, making their genitive singular in jus, with j consonant, and be declined after this manner.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. hic hæc hoc	*Nom.* hi hæ hæc
Gen. hujus	*Gen.* horum harum horum
Dat. huic	*Dat. Abl.* his
Acc. hunc hanc hoc	*Acc.* hos has hæc
Voc. caret	*Voc.* caret.
Abl. hoc hac hoc.	

Of iste and hic is compounded istic, istæc, istoc or istuc. *Acc.* istunc, istanc, istoc or istuc. *Abl.* istoc, istac, istoc. *Plur.* istæc only.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. is ea id	*Nom.* ii eæ ea
Gen. ejus	*Gen.* eorum earum eorum
Dat. ei	*Dat. Abl.* iis or eis
Acc. eum eam id	*Acc.* eos eas ea
Voc. caret	*Voc.* caret.
Abl. eo ea eo.	

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. qui quæ quod	*Nom.* qui, quæ quæ
Gen. cujus	*Gen.* quorum quarum quorum
Dat. cui	*Dat. Abl.* quibus or queis
Acc. quem quam quod	*Acc.* quos quas quæ
Voc. caret	*Voc.* caret.
Ab. quo qua quo or qui.	

In like manner, quivis, quilibet, and quicunque the compounds.

Sing. Nom. quis, qua or quæ, quid, *Gen.* &c. like qui. So quisquam, quisnam, compounds.

Of quis are made these pronoun adjectives, cujus cuja cujum, whose; and hic and hæc cujus and hoc cujate, of what nation.

Quisquis is defective, and thus declined,

Nom. { Quisquis / Quicquid } | *Acc.* { Quicquid } | *Ab.* { Quoquo / Quaqua / Quoquo.

Of a Verb.

A VERB is a part of speech, that betokeneth being, as sum I am; or doing, as laudo, I praise; and is declined with mood, tense, number, and person.

Moods.

THERE be four moods, which express the manner of doing; the indicative, the imperative, the potential or subjunctive, and the infinitive.

The indicative mood sheweth or declareth, as laudo I praise.

The imperative biddeth or exhorteth, as lauda praise thou.

The potential or subjunctive is Englished with these signs, may, can, might, would, could, should: or without them as the indicative, if a conjunction go before or follow, as laudem I may or can praise. Cum laudarem, when I praised. Cavissem, si prævidissem, I had bewared if I had foreseen.

The infinitive is Englished with this sign, to, as laudare to praise.

Tenses.

THERE be three tenses which express the time of doing: the present, the preterit or past, and the future.

The present tense speaketh of the time that now is, as laudo I praise.

The preterit speaketh of the time past, and is distinguished by three degrees: the preterimperfect, the preterperfect, and the preterpluperfect.

The preterimperfect speaketh of the time not perfectly past, as laudabam I praised or did praise.

The preterpefect speaketh of the time perfectly passed, as laudavi I have praised

The preterpluperfect speaketh of the time more than perfectly past, as laudaveram I had praised.

The future tense speaketh of the time to come, as laudabo I shall or will praise.

Persons.

THROUGH all moods, except the infinitive, there be three persons in both numbers, as, *sing.* laudo I praise, laudas thou praisest, laudat he praiseth; *plur.* laudamus we praise, laudatis ye praise, laudant they praise. Except some verbs which are declined or formed in the third person only, and have

before them this sign, it, as tædet it irketh, oportet it behoveth, and are called impersonals.

The verb which betokeneth being is properly the verb substantive only, which is therefore called a verb substantive, and formed after this manner.

Indicative.

Pres. *sing.*	I am. Sum, es, est, *Plur.* sumus, estis, sunt.
Pret. imp.	I was. Eram, eras, erat, *Pl.* eramus, eratis, erant.
Pret. perfect.	I have been. Fui, fuisti, fuit, *Plur.* fuimus, fuistis, fuerunt or fuere.
Pret. plup.	I had been. Fueram, fueras, fuerat, *Plur.* fueramus, fueratis, fuerant.
Future.	I shall or will be. Ero, eris, erit, *Plur.* erimus, eritis, erunt.

Imperative.

Be thou.

Sing.	Sis, es, esto.	Sit, esto.	*Plur.*	Si- mus.	Sitis, este, estote.	Sint, sunto

Potential.

Pres. *sing.*	I may or can be. Sim, sis, sit, *Pl.* simus, sitis, sint.
Preter- imperf.	I might or could be. Essem or forem, es. et, *Pl.* essemus, essetis, essent or forent.
Preter- perfect.	I might or could have been. Fuerim, ris, rit. *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint.
Preterplup. with a conjunction, Si	If I had been. Fuissem, es, et. *Pl.* emus, etis, ent.
Future, Si.	If I shall be, or shall have been. Fuero, ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint.

Infinitive.

Pres. and preter-imperf.	Esse, to be	Preter-perfect, & pret. pluper.	Fuisse, to have or had been.
Future.	Fore, to be hereafter.		

In like manner are formed the compounds; absum, adsum, abesum, obsum, præsum, prosum, possum; but possum something varies after this manner.

Indicat. Pres. *Sing.* Possum, potes, potest, *Plur.* possumus, potestis, possunt. The other are regular, poteram, potui, potueram, potero.

Imperative it wants.

Potent. Pres. Possum, &c., Preterimperfect, Possem.

Infin. Pres. Posse. Preterit, Potuisse.

Voices.

In Verbs that betoken Doing are two voices, the Active and the Passive.

The Active signifieth to do, and always endeth in o, as doceo I teach.

The Passive signifieth what is done to one by another, and always endeth in or, as doceor I am taught.

From these are to be excepted two sorts of verbs. The first are called Neuters, and cannot take or in the passive, as curro I run, sedeo I sit; yet signify sometimes passively, as percutio I am beaten.

The second are called Deponents, and signify actively, as loquor I speak; or neuters, as glorior I boast, but are formed like passives.

Conjugations.

Verbs both active and passive have four conjugations, or forms of declining, known and distinguished by their infinitive mood active, which always endeth in re.

In the first conjugation, after a long as laudare to praise.
In the second, after e long, as habere to have.
In the third, after e short, as legere to read.
In the fourth, after i long, as audire to hear.
In these four conjugations, verbs are declined or formed by mood, tense, number, and person, after these examples.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

Singular.			*Plural.*		
I	Thou	He	We	Ye	They
praise.	praisest.	praiseth.	praise.	praise.	praise.
Laudo,	laudas,	laudat,	laudamus,	laudatis,	laudant.
Habeo,	habes,	habet,	habemus,	habetis,	habent.
Lego,	legis,	legit,	legimus,	legitis,	legunt.
Audio,	audis,	audit.	audimus,	auditis,	audiunt.

Preter-imperfect tense *sing.* Laudabam, Habebam, Legebam, Audiebam, — I praised, or did praise. — bas, bat, *Pl.* bamus, batis, bant.

Preter-perfect tense *sing.* Laudavi, Habui, Legi, Audivi — I have praised. — isti, it, *Pl.* imus, istis, erunt or ere.

Preter-pluperfect tense *sing.* Laudaveram, Habueram, Legeram, Audiveram — I had praised. — ras, rat, *Pl.* ramus, ratis, rant.

Future tense *sing.* Laudabo, Habebo — bis, bit, *Pl.* bimus, bitis, bunt. Legam, Audium — es, et, *Plur.* emis, etis, ent.

Imperative Mood.

	Praise thou	Let him praise.	Let us praise.	Praise ye	Let them praise.
Pres. *sing.*	Lauda, laudato.	Laudet laudato.	*Pl.* Laudemus.	Laudate, laudatote.	Laudent, laudanto.
	Habe, habeto.	Habeat, habeto.	*Pl.* Habeamus.	Habete, habetote.	Habeant, habento.
	Lege, legito.	Legat, legito.	*Pl.* Legamus.	Legite, legitote.	Legant, legunto.
	Audi, audito.	Audiat, audito.	*Pl.* Audiamus.	Audite, auditote.	Audiant, audiunto.

Potential Mood.

Laudem, laudes, laudet, *Pl.* laudemus, laudetis,
ent Habeam, } laudent.
: *sing.* Legam, } as, at, *Pl.* amus, atis, ant.
Audiam. }

erim- Laudarem, } I might or could praise.
ect Haberem,
: *sing.* Legerem, } res, ret, *Pl.* remus, retis, rent.
Audirem. }

I might or could have praised.

er- Laudaverim, }
ect Habuerim,
: *sing.* Legerim, } ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint.
Audiverim, }

If I had praised.

erplu. Laudavissem, }
with Habuissem,
njunc- Legissem, } ses, set, *Plur.* semus, setis, sent.
Si Audivissem. }

If I shall praise, or shall have praised.

re Laudavero, }
: *sing.* Habuero,
Si Legero, } ris, rit, *Plur.* rimus, ritis, rint.
Audivero. }

Infinitive Mood.

ent Laudare, }
Preter- Habere,
rfect Legere, } To { Praise. Have. Read. Hear.
. Audire, }

erper- Laudavisse, }
t Pre- Habuisse,
uper- Legisse, } To have or had { Praised. Had. Read. Heard.
ense. Audivisse, }

rbs of the third conjugation irregular in some Tenses of
ctive Voice.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Volo, vis, vult,	Volumus, vultis, volu
Nolo, ———	Nolumus——— nolu
The rest is want-	ing in this Tense.
Malo, mavis, mavult,	Malumus, mavultis,

Preterit. { Volui. Nolui. Malui.

Volo and Malo want the Imperative Mood.

Imperative.

Sing. { Noli, Nolito. | *Plur.* { Nolite Nolito

Potential.

Present tense *sing.* { Velim, Nolim, Malim, } is, it, *Plur.* imus, itis, int.

Preterimperfect tense *sing.* { Vellem, Nollem, Mallem, } es, et, *Plur.* emus, etis, ent.

Infinitive.

Present. { Velle, Nolle, Malle.

Indicat. Pres. Edo, edis or es, edit or est, *Plur.* editis
Imper. Ede or es. Edito or esto. Edat, edito *Plur.* Edite or este. Editote or estote.
Poten. Preterimperfect Tense, Ederem or essem.
Infinit. Edere or esse.

Verbs of the fourth Conjugation irregular, in some Tense

Eo, and queo with his compound nequeo, make eu queunt in the plural indicative present, and in their imperfect ibam and quibam; their future, ibo and quil
Imperat. I, ito. Eat, ito. *Plur.* Eamus. Ite, itote. Eant
Potent. Eam, Irem, &c.

The forming of the Passive Voice.

Indicative.

I am praised.

Laudor, aris or are, atur,	*Plur.*	amur, amini, antur.
Habeor, eris or ere, etur,		emur, emini, entur.
Legor, eris or ere, itur,		imur, imini, untur.
Audior, iris or ire, itur,		imur, imini, iuntur.

I was praised.

reterim-	Laudabar, Habebar, Legebar, Audiebar	baris or bare, batur, *Plur.* bamur, bamini, bantur.
rfect nse *sing.*		

Note that the passive voice hath no preterperfect, nor the nses derived from thence in any mood.

I shall or will be praised.

ture nse *sing.*	Laudabor, Habebor Legar, Audiar,	beris or bere, bitur, *Plur.* bimur, bimini, buntur. eris or ere, etur. *Pl.* emur, emini, entur.

Imperative.

Be thou praised.	Let him be praised.
Laudare, laudatar.	Laudetur, laudator,
Habere, habetor.	Habeatur, habetor,
Legere, legitor.	Legatur, legitor.
Audire, auditor.	Audiatur, auditor.

Let us be praised.	Be ye praised.		Let them be praised.
Laudemur.	Laudamini,	laudaminor.	Laudentur, laudantor.
Habeamur.	Habemini,	habeminor.	Habeantur, habentor.
Legamur.	Legimini,	legiminor.	Legantur, leguntor.
Audiamur.	Audimini,	audiminor.	Audiantur, audiuntor.

Potential

I may or can be praised.

Lauder, eris or ere, etur, *Plur.* emur, emini, e

Present *sing.* Habear, Legar, Audiar } aris or are, atur, *Plur.* amur, amini, a

I might or should be praised.

Preterimperfect *sing.* Laudarer, Haberer, Legerer, Audirer, } reris or rere, retur, *Plur.* remur, re rentur.

Infinitive.

Present and preterimperfect. Laudari, Haberi, Legi, Audiri } To be { Praised. Had. Read. Heard.

Verbs irregular in some Tenses passive.

EDOR, editur or estur: the rest is regular.

The verb Fio is partly of the third, and partly of the fo conjugation, and hath only the infinitive of the passive fo

Indicat. Pres. *sing.* Fio, fis, fit, *plur.* fimus, fitis, fi Preterimperfect, Fiebam. Preterperfect it wants. Fu Fiam, &c.

Imperat. Fi, fito. *plur.* Fite, fitote, Finant, fiunto.

Poten. Pres. Fiam, &c. Preterimperfect, Fierem.

Infinit. Fieri.

Also this verb Fero is contracted or shortened in s tenses, both active and passive, as Fers, fert, for feris, ferit,

Indicat. Pres. *sing.* Fero, fers, fert. *plur.*—fertis—Pr perfect, Tuli.

Imperat. Fer, ferto, &c. *pl.* Ferte, fertote.

Potent. Preterimperfect, Ferrem, &c.

Infinit. Ferre.

Passive.

Indic. Pres. *sing.* Feror, ferris or ferre, fertur, &c.

Imperat. *sing.* Ferre, fertor, &c.

Potent. Preterimperfect, Ferrer.

Infinit. Feri.

Of Gerunds and Supines.

THERE be also belonging to the infinitive mood of all verbs certain voices called gerunds and supines, both of the active and passive signification.

The first gerund in di, as laudandi of praising or of being praised. The second in do, as ludando in praising or in being praised. The third in dum, as laudandum to praise or to be praised.

Note that in the two latter conjugations the gerunds end sometimes in undi, do, dum, as dicendi or dicundi: but from eo always eundi, except in the compound ambiendi.

Supines are two. The first signifieth actively, as laudatum to praise: the latter passively, as laudatu to be praised. Note, that most neuters of the second conjugation, and volo, nolo, malo, with many other verbs, have no supine.

Verbs of the four conjugations irregular in the preterperfect tense or supines.

VERBS of the first conjugation form their preterperfect tense in avi, supine in atum, as laudo laudavi laudatum.

Except

Poto potavi potatum or potum; neco necavi necatum or nectum.

Domo, tono, sono, crepo, veto, cubo, form ui, itum, as cubui cubitum; but secui sectum, fricui frictum, mico micui yet some of these are found regular in the preterperfect tense or supine, especially compounded, as increpavit, discrepavit, dimicavit, sonatum, dimicatum, intonatum, infricatum, and the like.

Plico and his compounds form ui or avi, as explicui or explicavi, explicitum or explicatum; except supplico, and such as are compounded with a noun, as duplico, multiplico in avi only.

But lavo lavi lautum lotum or lavatum, juvo juvi, adjuvo adjuvi adjutum.

Do dedi datum. Sto steti statum, in the compounds, stitum, and sometimes stato, as præstum præstiti præstitum and præstatum.

VERBS of the second conjugation form their preterperfect tense in ui, their supine in itum, as habeo habui habitum.

Some are regular in their preterperfect tense, but not in their supines, as doceo docui doctum, misceo miscui mistum, teneo tenui tentum, torreo torrui tostum, censeo censui censum, pateo patui passum, careo carui cassum and caritum.

Others are irregular both in preterperfect tense and supines, as jubeo jussi jussum, sorbeo sorbui and sorpsi sorptum, mulceo mulsi mulsum, luceo luxi.

Deo in di, as sedeo sedi sessum, video vidi visum, prandeo prandi pransum. And some in si, as suadeo suasi suasum, rideo risi risum, ardeo arsi arsum. Four double their first letters, as pendeo pependi pensum, mordeo momordi morsum, spondeo spopondi sponsum, tondeo totondi tonsum; but not in their compounds, as dependi dependsum.

Geo in si, and some in xi, as urgeo ursi, mulgeo mulsi and mulxi mulctum, augeo auxi auctum, indulgeo indulsi indultum, frigeo frixi, lugeo luxi.

Leo, leo, and neo nevi, vieo vievi vietum: but cieo cievi citum, deleo delevi deletum, fleo flevi fletum, compleo complevi completum; as also the compounds of oleo, except redoleo and suboleo; but adolevi adultum, neo nevi netum, but maneo mansi, torqueo torsi tortum, hæreo hæsi.

Veo in vi, as ferveo fervi, but deferveo deferbui, conniveo connivi and connixi, movi motum, vovi votum, cavi cautum, favi fautum.

THE third conjugation formeth the preterperfect tense by changing o of the present tense into i: the supine without certain rule, as lego legi lectum, bibo bibi bibitum, lambo lambi, scabo scabi, ico ici ictum, mando mandi mansum, pando pandi passum, edo edi esum or estum, in like manner comedo, the other compounds esum only; rudo rudi, sallo salli salsum, psallo psalli, emo emi emptum, viso visi visum, verto verti versum, solvo solvi solutum, volvo volvi volutum, exeo exui exutum, but ruo rui ruitum, in compound rutum, as deruo derutum; ingruo, metuo metui.

Others are irregular both in preterperfect tense and supine.

In bo, scribo scripsi scriptum, nubo nupsi nuptum, cumbo cubui cubitum.

In co, vinco vici victum, dico dixi dictum; in like manner duco; parco peperci and parsi parsum and parsitum.

In do, these three lose n, findo fidi fissum, scindo scidi

cissum, fundo fudi fusum. These following, vado, rado, ledo, ludo, divido, trudo, claudo, plaudo, rodo, si and sum, si rosi rosum, but cedo cessi cessum. The rest double their first letters in the preterperfect tense, but not compounded, as tundo tutudi tunsum, contundo contudi contusum, and so in other compounds. Pendo pependi pensum, dependo dependi, tendo tetendi tensum and tentum, contendo contendi, pedo pepedi peditum, cado cecidi casum, occido, recido recidi recasum. The other compounds have no supine. Cædo, cecidi cæsum, occido occidi occisum. To these add all the compounds of do in this conjugation, addo, credo, edo, dedo, reddo, perdo, abdo, obdo, condo, indo, trado, prodo, vendo vendidi venditum, except the double compound, obscondo obscondi.

In go, ago egi actum, dego degi, satago sategi, frango fregi fractum, pango to join pegi pactum, pango to sing panxi, ango anxi, jungo junxi junctum; but these five, fingo mingo pingo stringo ringo lose n in their supines, as finxi fictum, mingo minxi, figo fixi fixum, rego rexi rectum; diligo, negligo, intelligo, lexi lectum, spargo sparsi sparsum. These double their first letter, tango tetigi tactum, but not in his compounds, as contingo contigi, pango to bargain pepigi pactum, pungo and repungo pupugi and punxi punctum, the other compounds punxi only.

Ho in xi, traho traxi tractum, veho vexi vectum.

In lo, vello velli and vulsi vulsum, colo colui cultum; excello, præcello, cellui celsum; alo alui alitum and altum. The rest not compounded, double their first letter, fallo fefelli falsum, refello refelli, pello, pepuli pulsum, compello compuli, cello ceculi, percello perculi and perculsi perculsum.

In mo, vomo vomui vomitum, tremo tremui, premo pressi pressum, como, premo, demo, sumo, after the same manner as sumpsi sumptum.

In no, sino sivi situm, sterno stravi stratum, sperno sprevi spretum, lino levi lini and livi litum, cerno crevi cretum, temno tempsi, contemno contempsi contemptum, gigno genui genitum, pono posui positum, cano cecini cantum, concino concinui concentum.

In po, rumpo rupi ruptum, scalpo scalpsi scalptum; the rest in ui, strepo strepui strepitum.

In quo, linquo liqui, relinquo reliqui relictum, coquo coxi coctum.

In ro, verro verri and versi versum, sero to sow ser
in compound, situm, as inserto insitum; sero of anothe
fication most used in his compounds, assero, consero,
exero, serui sertum; uro ussi ustum, gero gessi
quæro quæsivi quæsitum, tero trivi tritum, curro,
præcurro, cucurri cursum, the other compounds doub
as concurro concurri.

In so, accerso, arcesso, incesso, lacesso, ivi itum,
both i and ivi, pinso pinsui pistum and pinsitum.

In sco, pasco pavi pastum; compesco, dispesco, ui
poposci, disco didici, quinisco quexi, nosco novi notu
agnosco agnitum, cognosco cognitum.

In to, sisto stiti statum, flecto flexi flexum, pecto pe
pexi pexum and pectitum, hecto nexui and nexi
plecto plexi plexum, sterto stertui, meto messui messum
misi missum, peto petivi petitum.

In vo, vivo vixi victum.

In xo, texo texui textum, nexo nexui nexum.

In cio, facio feci factum, jacio jeci jactum, lacio lexi
specio spexi spectum, with their compounds, but elici
elicitum.

In dio, fodio fodi fossum.

In gio, fugio fugi fugitum.

In pio, capio cepi captum, rapio rapui raptum, cup
pivi cupitum, sapio sapui and sapivi sapitum.

In rio, pario peperi partum.

In tio, quatio quassi quassum, concutio concussi conc

In uo, pluo plui and pluvi plutum, struo struxi str
fluo fluxi fluxum.

The fourth conjugation formeth the preterperfect t
ivi, the supine in itum.

Except, Venio veni ventum, comperio, reperio reperi
tum, cambio campsi campsum, sepio sepsi septum,
sarsi sartum, fulceo fulci fultum, sentio sensi sensum,
hausi haustum, sanctio sanxi sanctum and sancitum,
vinxi vinctum, salio salui saltum, in compound sultu
desilio desilui desultum, amicio amicui amictum, aperio,
perui pertum, veneo venivi venum, singultivi singultum,
ivi sepultum.

Of Verbs Compounded.

These verbs compounded change a into e throughout, mno, lacto, sacro, fallo, arceo, tracto, partio, farcio, carpo, tro, scando, spargo, as conspergo conspersi conspersum.

These following change their first vowel into i, and some of em their supines into e, habeo, latco, salio, statuo, cado, dio, cano, quæro, cædo, tango, egeo, teneo, taceo, sapio, pio, placeo, displiceo displicui displicitum; except com-ceo, perplaceo, posthabeo.

Scalpo, calco, salto, change a into u, as exculpo; claudo, atio, lavo, lose a, as excludo, excutio, eluo.

These following change their first vowel into i, but not in preterperfect tense, and sometimes a into e in the supine, o, sedeo, rego, frango, capio, jacio, lacio, specio, premo, comprimo compressi compressum, conjicio conjeci con-tum, pango in two only, compingo, impingo: ago, in all perago, satago, circumago, dego, and cogo coegi: facio h a preposition only, not in other compounds, as inficio, cio: lego in these only, diligo, eligo, intelligo, negligo, go, in the rest not, as prælego, add to these supersedeo.

Of Verbs Defective.

Verbs called inceptives, ending in sco, borrow their pre-perfect tense from the verb whereof they are derived, as esco tepui from tepeo, ingemisco ingemui from ingemo; also these verbs cerno to see, vidi from video, sido sedi from eo, fero tuli from tulo out of use, in the supine latum, tollo tuli sublatum from suffero.

These want the preterperfect tense.

Verbs ending in asco, as puerasco; in isco, as satisco; in o, except parturio, esurio; these also, vergo, ambigo, ferio, ro, polleo, nideo, have no preterperfect tense.

Contrary, these four, odi, cœpi, novi, memini, are found in e preterperfect tense only, and the tenses derived, as odi, eram, oderim, odisse, except memini, which hath memento mentote in the imperative.

Others are defective both in tense and person, as aio, ais, t, Plur. aiunt. The preterimperfect aiebam is entire. Im-rative, ai. Potential, aias, aiat, Plur. aiamus, aiant.

Ausim, for ausus sim, ausis, ausit, Plur. ausint.

Salveo, salvebis, salve salveto, salvete salvetote, sal
Ave aveto, avete avetote.
Faxo, faxis, faxit, faxint.
Quæso, Plur. quæsumus.
Infit, infiunt.
Inquio or inquam, inquis, inquit, Plur. inquiunt. In
Cic. Topic. inquisti, inquit. Future, inquies, inque
perat. inque inquito. Potent. inquiat.
Dor the first person passive of do, and for befor
or farre in the indicative, are not read, nor der or fe
potential.

Of a Participle.

A Participle is a part of speech, partaking with t
from whence it is derived in voice, tense, and signi
and with a noun adjective in manner of declining.
Participles are either of the active or passive voice.
Of the active two. One of the present tense ending
or ens, as laudans praising, habens, legens, audiens,
declined like felix, as hic hæc and hoc habens. Gen. h
Dat. habenti, &c. Docens, docentis, &c. But from e
and in the compounds iens euntis, except ambiens am
Note that some verbs otherwise defective have this par
as aiens, inquiens.
The other of the future tense is most commonly for
the first supine, by changing m into rus, as of laudatu
daturus to praise or about to praise, habiturus, le
auditurus; but some are not regularly formed, as of
secaturus, of jutum juvaturus, sonitum soniturus,
pariturus, argutum arguiturus, and such like; of sum
rus: this as also the other two participles following are d
like bonus.
This participle, with the verb sum, affordeth a second
in the active voice, as laudaturus sum, es, est, &c. as
future of the infinitive, as laudaturum esse to praise
after, futurum esse, &c.
Participles of the passive voice are also two, one
preterperfect tense, another of the future.
A participle of the preterperfect tense is formed
latter supine, by putting thereto s, as of laudatu l
praised, of habitu habitus, lectu lectus, auditu auditus
This participle, joined with the verb sum, suppli

t of a preterperfect and preterpluperfect tense in the
ative mood passive, and both them and the future of the
ntial; as also the preterperfect and preterpluperfect of
infinitive, and with ire or fore the future; as laudatus
or fui I have been praised, Plur. laudati sumus or fuimus
ave been praised, laudatus eram or fueram, &c. Poten-
laudatus sim or fuerim, laudatus essem or fuissem, lau-
ero or fuero. Infinit. laudatum esse or fuisse to have
d been praised; laudatum ire or fore to be praised here-

r only passives, but some actives also or neuters, besides
own preterperfect tense borrow another from this par-
e; Cœno cœnavi and cœnatus sum, Juravi and juratus,
vi and potus sum, Titubavi and titubatus, Careo carui
s sum, Prandeo prandi and pransus, Pateo patui and
s sum, Placeo placui placitus, Suesco suevi suetus sum,
libuit and libitum est, Licet licuit licitum, Pudet puduit
tum, Piget piguit pigitum, Tædet tæduit pertæsum est,
this deponent Mereor merui and meritus sum.
ese neuters following, like passives, have no other preter-
ct tense, but by this participle, Gaudeo gavisus sum,
fisus, Audeo ausus, Fio factus, Soleo solitus sum
ese deponents also form this participle from supines irre-
; Labor lapsus, patior passus, perpetior perpessus, fateor
s, confiteor confessus, diffiteor diffessus, gradior gressus,
edior ingressus, fatiscor fessus, metior mensus, utor usus,
or to spin orditus, to begin orsus, nitor nisus and nixus,
cor ultus, irascor iratus, reor ratus, obliviscor oblitus, fruor
us or fruitus, misereor misertus, tuor and tueor tuitus,
or locutus, sequor secutus, experior expertus, paciscor pac-
manciscor nactus, apiscor aptus, adipiscor adeptus, queror
tus, proficiscor profectus, expergiscor experrectus, commi-
r commentus, nascor natus, morior mortuus, orior ortus

participle of the future passive is formed of the gerund
nm, by changing m into s, as of laudandum laudandus
praised, of habendum habendus, &c. And likewise of
participle with the verb Sum, may be formed the same
s in the passive, which were formed with the participle of
preterperfect tenses, as laudandus sum or fui, &c.
finit. Laudandum esse or fore.
verbs deponent come participles both of the active and

passive form, as loquor loquens locutus locoturus loquen whereof the participle of the preter tense signifieth some both actively and passively, as dignatus, testatus, medit and the like.

Of an Adverb.

An Adverb is a part of speech joined with some other explain its signification, as valdè probus very honest, bene it is well, valdè doctus very learned, benè mane early in morning.

Of adverbs, some be of Time, as hodie to-day, cras morrow, &c.

Some be of Place, as ubi where, ibi there, &c. And many other sorts needless to be here set down.

Certain adverbs also are compared, as doctè learnedly, tiùs doctissimè, fortiter fortiùs fortissimè, sæpe sæpiùs sæ simè, and the like.

Of a Conjunction.

A Conjunction is a part of speech that joineth words sentences together.

Of Conjunctions some be copulatives, as et and, que also, nec neither.

Some be disjunctive, as aut or.

Some be causal, as nam for, quia because, and many like.

Adverbs when they govern mood and tense, and join tences together, as cum, ubi, postquam, and the like, are to be called conjunctions.

Of a Preposition.

A Preposition is a part of speech most commonly either before nouns in apposition, as ad patrem, or joined with other words in composition, as indoctus.

These six, di, dis, re, se, am, con, are not read in but composition.

As adverbs having cases after them may be called prepo tions, so prepositions having none, may be counted adverbs.

Of an Interjection.

An Interjection is a part of speech, expressing some pas of the mind.

ne be of sorrow, as heu, hei.
ne be of marvelling, as papæ.
ne of disdaining, as vah.
ne of praising, as euge.
ne of exclaiming, as ô, proh, and such like.

Figures of Speech.

RDS are sometimes increased or diminished by a letter or le in the beginning, middle, or ending, which are called s of speech.

Increased.

he beginning, as Gnatus for natus, tetuli for tuli. Pro-

he middle, as Rettulit for retulit, cinctutus for cinctus. hesis.
he end, as Dicier for dici. Paragoge.

Diminished.

he beginning, as Ruit for eruit. Apherisis.
he middle, as Audiit for audivit, dixti for dixisti, lamna nina. Syncope.
he end, as Consili for consilii; scin for scisne. Apo-

THE

SECOND PART OF GRAMMAR,

COMMONLY CALLED

SYNTAXIS OR CONSTRUCTION

HITHERTO the eight parts of speech declined and under have been spoken of single, and each one by itself, now loweth Syntaxis or Construction, which is the right joini these parts together in a sentence.

Construction consisteth either in the agreement of together in number, gender, case, and person, which is concord; or the governing of one the other in such or mood as is to follow.

Of the Concords.

THERE be Three concords or agreements.

The first is of the adjective with his substantive.

The second is of the verb with its nominative case.

The third is of the relative with his antecedent.

An adjective (under which is comprehended both pro and participle) with his substantive or substantives, a verb his nominative case or cases, and a relative with his antec or antecedents, agree all in number, and the two last person also: as Amicus certus. Viri docti. Præceptor legit, vos vero negligitis. Xenophon et Plato fuere aeq Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur. Pater et præceptor ver Yea though the conjunction be disjunctive, as, Quos desidia neque luxuria vitiaverant. Celsus. Pater et ceptor, quos quæritis. But if a verb singular follow nominatives, it must be applied to each of them apa Nisi foro et curiæ officium ac verecundia sua constiterit. Max.

n adjective with his substantive, and a relative with his cedent agree in gender and case: but the relative not in always, being ofttimes governed by other constructions; Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur. Liber quem dedisti

ad if it be a particle serving the infinitive mood future, it mes agrees with the substantive neither in gender nor in ber, as, Hanc sibi rem præsidio sperat futurum. Cic. erat non datum iri filio uxorem. Terent. Omnia potius m iri puto quam de provinciis. Cic.

at when a verb cometh between two nominative case not he same number, or a relative between two substantives of the same gender, the verb in number, and the relative nder may agree with either of them; as, Amantium iræ is reintegratio est. Quid enim nisi vota supersunt. tur illum globum qui terra dicitur. Animal plenum nis, quem vocamus hominem. Lutetia es quam nos Pari- dicimus.

ad if the nominative cases be of several persons, or the tantives and antecedents of several genders, the verb shall with the second person before the third, and with the before either; and so shall the adjective or relative in gender; as, Ego et tu sumus in tuto. Tu et pater peri- mini. Pater et mater mortui sunt. Frater et soror quos ti.

at in things that have not life, an adjective or relative of neuter gender may agree with substantives or antecedents uline or feminine, or both together; as, Arcus et calami bona. Arcus et calami quæ fregisti. Pulchritudinem, antiam, ordinem in consiliis factisque conservanda putat. Off. 1. Ira et ægritudo permista sunt. Sal.

ote that the infinitive mood, or any part of a sentence, be instead of a nominative case to the verb, or of a sub- ive to the adjective, or of an antecedent to the relative, hen the adjective or relative shall be of the neuter gen- and if there be more parts of a sentence than one, the shall be in the plural number; Diluculo surgere saluber- m est. Virtutem sequi, vita est honestissima. Audito onsulem in Ciliciam tendere. In tempore veni, quod um rerum est primum. Tu multum dormis et sæpe ; quæ duo sunt corpori inimica.

Sometimes also an adverb is put for the nominative case a verb, and for a substantive to an adjective ; as, Partim norum sunt combusta. Prope senties et vicies erogatum Cic. Verr. 4.

Sometimes also agreement, whether it be in gender or number, is grounded on the sense, not on the words, as, senium, for illum senem. Iste scelus, for iste scelestus. Transtulit in Eunuchum suam, meaning comœdiam Pars magna obligati, meaning homines. Liv. Impiger nudus uterque, for ambo. Ov. Alter in alterius lumina vultus Ovid: that is, Alter et alter. Inaperata refers te nobis, for mihi. Catul. Disce omnes, Virg for tu quisquis es. Dua importuna prodigia, quos tribuno plebis constructos addixerat. Cic. pro Sest. mersa tenuere ratem. Rhemus cum fratre Quirino Virg: that is, Rhemus et frater Quirinus. Divellimur Iphitus et Pelias mecum. Virg.

Construction of Substantives.

HITHERTO of concord or agreement; the other part follows which is Governing, whereby one part of speech is governed by another,, that is to say, is put in such case or mood as word that governeth or goeth before in construction requires.

When two substantives come together betokening diverse things, whereof the former may be an adjective in the neuter gender taken for a substantive, the latter (which also may be a pronoun) shall be in the genitive case : as, Facundia Cæsaris. Amator studiorum. Ferimur per opaca locorum. Cic. ruptus vanis rerum, Hor. Desiderium tui. Pater ejus

Sometimes, the fomer substantive, as this word officium mos, is understood ; as Oratoris est, it is the part of an orator. Extremæ est dementiæ, it is the manner of extreme madness. Ignavi est, it is the quality of a slothful man. Ubi ad Paphi veneris ; templum is understood. Justitiæne prius mirer belline laborum, Virg : understand causâ. Neque ille sepositi ciceris, neque longæ invidit avenæ. Hor. Supply partem.

But if both the substantives be spoken of one thing, which is called apposition, they shall be both of the same case. Pater meus vir amat me puerum.

Words that signify quality, following the substantive whereof they are spoken, may be put in the genitive or ablative

e; as, Puer bonæ indolis, or bonâ indole. Some have a itive only; as, Ingentis rex nominis. Liv. Decem anno- puer. Hujusmodi pax. Hujus generis animal. But genus ometimes in the accusative; as, Si hoc genus rebus proficitur. Varr. de Re rust. And the cause or manner thing in the ablative only: as, Sum tibi naturâ parens, ceptor consiliis.

pus and Usus, when they signify need, require an abla- ; as, Opus est mihi tuo judicio. Viginti minis usus est . But opus is sometimes taken for an adjective unde- ed, and signifieth needful; as, Dux nobis et auctor opus Alia quæ opus sunt para.

Construction of Adjectives, governing a Genitive.

DJECTIVES that signify desire, knowledge, ignorance, re- abrance, forgetfulness, and such like; as also certain ers derived from verbs, and ending in ax, require a geni- ; as Cupidus auri. Peritus belli. Ignarus omnium. mor præteriti. Reus furti. Tenax propositi. Tempus x rerum.

Adjectives called nouns partitive, because they signify part some whole quantity or number, govern the word that nifieth the thing parted or divided, in the genitive; as quis nostrum. Primus omnium. Aurium mollior est stra. Oratorum eloquentissimus. And oft in the neuter der; as Multum lucri. Id negotii. Hoc noctis. Some- es, though seldom, a word signifying the whole, is read in same case with the partitive, as Habet duos gladios quibus ro te occisurum minatur, altero villicum, Plaut. for Quo- altero. Magnum opus habeo in manibus; quod jampri- ad hunc ipsum (me autem dicebat) quædam institui. Cic. d. I. Quod quædam for cujus quædam.

A Dative.

DJECTIVES that betoken profit or disprofit, likeness or keness, fitness, pleasure, submitting or belonging to any- g, require a dative; as Labor est utilis corpori. Equalis tori. Idoneus bello. Jucundus omnibus. Parenti sup- . Mihi proprium.

But such as betoken profit or disprofit have sometimes an usative with a preposition; as Homo ad nullam partem is. Cic. Inter se æquales.

And some adjectives signifying likeness, unlikenes lation, may have a genitive. Par hujus. Ejus culpa Domini similis es. Commune animantium est conj appetitus. Alienum dignitatis ejus. Cic. Fin. 1. quondam proprium populi Romani, longè a domo bell propior and proximus admit sometimes an accus proximus Pompeium sedebam. Cic.

An Accusative.

Nouns of measure are put after adjectives of like tion in the accusative, and sometimes in the ablative; alta centum pedes. Arbor lata tres digitos. Libe tres pollices, or tribus pollicibus. Sometimes in the as Areas latas pedum denûm facito.

All words expressing part or parts of a thing, ma in the accusative, or sometimes in the ablative; as frontem or fronte. Excepto quòd non simul ess lætus. Hor. Nuda pedem. Ov. Os humerosque de Virg. Sometimes in the genitive; as Dubius mentis

An Ablative.

Adjectives of the comparative degree englished sign then or by, as dignus, indignus, præditus, conte these words of price, carus, vilis, require an abla Frigidior glacie. Multo doctior. Uno pede altior. honore. Virtute præditus. Sorte suâ contentus. Asse

But of comparatives, plus, amplius, and minus, ma a genitive; also a nominative, or an accusative; as P quaginta hominum. Amplius duorum millium. Ne pl pars eximatur mellis. Varro. Paulo plus quingento Ut ex suâ cujusque parte ne minus dimidium ad frat veniret, Cic. Verr. 4. And dignus, indignus, have s a genitive after them; as Militia est operis altera c Indignus avorum. Virg.

Adjectives betokening plenty or want, will have an and sometimes a genitive; as Vacuus irâ, or iræ. N tola inanis re aliquâ. Ditissimus agri. Stultorum p omnia. Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus. Expers Vobis immunibus hujus esse moli dabitur.

Words also betokening the cause, or form, or mai are put after adjectives in the ablative case; a pidus morte futurâ. Nomine Grammaticus, re

Of Pronouns.

PRONOUNS differ not in construction from nouns, except that possessives, Meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, by a certain manner of speech, are sometimes joined to a substantive, which governs their primitive understood with a noun or participle in a genitive case; as Dico meâ unius operâ rempublicam esse liberatam, Cic. for Mei unius operâ. In like manner Nostrûm vestrûm, trium, paucorum, omnium virtute, for nostrum, duorum, &c. Meum solius peccatum, Cic. Ex tuo ipsius animo, for Tui ipsius. Ex suâ cujusque parte, Id. Verr. 2. Ne tua quidem recentia proximi prætoris vestigia persequi poterat. Cic. Verr. 4. Si meas præsentis preces non putas proficisse, Id. pro. Planc. Nostros vidisti flentis ocellos. Ovid.

Also a relative, as qui or is, sometimes answers to an antecedent noun or pronoun primitive understood in the possessive; as, Omnes laudare fortunas meas, qui filium haberem tali ingenio præditum. Terent.

Construction of Verbs.

VERBS for the most part govern either one case after them, or more than one in a different manner of construction.

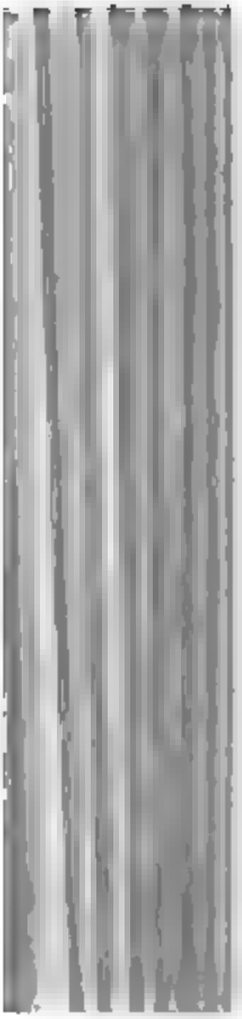
Of the Verb substantive Sum, and such like, with a nominative and other oblique cases.

VERBS that signify being, as Sum, existo, fio; and certain passives, as Dicor, vocor, salutor, appellor, habeor, existimor, videor; also verbs of motion or rest, as incedo, discedo, sedeo, with such like, will have a nominative case after them, as they have before them, because both cases belong to the same person or thing, and the latter is rather in an apposition with the former, than governed by the verb; as Temperantia est virtus. Horatius salutatur poeta. Ast ego quæ divum incedo regina.

And if est be an impersonal, it may sometimes govern a genitive, as Usus poetæ, ut moris est, licentia. Phædrus l. 4. Negavit moris esse Græcorum ut, &c. Cic. Verr. 2.

But if the following noun be of another person, or not directly spoken of the former, both after Sum and all his compounds, except possum, it shall be put in the dative; as Est mihi domi pater. Multa petentibus desunt multa.

And if a thing be spoken of, relating to the person, it may be also in the dative; as Sum tibi præsidio. Hæc res est mihi



action passeth forth on some person or thin
accusative after them of the person or thing to
is done; as Amo te. Vitium fuge. Deum
promptos facit. Juvat me. Oportet te.

Also verbs called neuters, may have an acc
own signification; as Duram servit servituten
viam. Endymionis somnum dormis. Pastill
Nec vox hominem sonat. Cum glaucum salu
Agit lætum convivam. Horat. Hoc me late

But these verbs, though transitive, Misereor
pass into a genitive; as Miserere mei. So
dative: Huic misereor. Sen. Dilige bonos,
Boetius.

Reminiscor, obliviscor, recordor, and memin
require a genitive; as Datæ fidei reminiscitur
Obliviscor carminis. Sometimes retain the ac
cordor puerituam. Omnia quæ curant senes mer

These impersonals also, interest and refer
concern, require a genitive, except in these ab
Mea, tua, sua, nostra, vestra, cuja. And the
cernment is often added in these genitives, ma
quanti, with their compounds; as Interest omn
Tuâ refert teipsum nosse. Vestrâ parvi intere

But verbs of profiting or disprofiting, beli
obeying, opposing or being angry with, pass i
Non potes mihi commodare nec incommodare.
bus. Crede mihi. Nimium ne crede colori. P

Sometimes a phrase of the same signification with a single verb, may have the case of the verb after it; as Id operam do, that is to say, id ago. Idne estis authores mihi? for id suadetis. Quid me vobis tactio est? for tangitus. Plaut. Quid tibi hanc curatio est rem? Id.

The Accusative with a Genitive.

HITHERTO of transitives governing their accusative, or other case, in single and direct construction: now of such as may have after them more cases than one in construction direct and oblique, that is to say, with an accusative, a genitive, dative, other accusative, or ablative.

Verbs of esteeming, buying, or selling, besides their accusative, will have a genitive betokening the value or price: Flocci, nihili, pili, hujus, and the like after verbs of esteeming: Tanti, quanti, pluris, minoris, and such like, put without a substantive, after verbs of buying or selling, as Non hujus te æstimo. Ego illum flocci pendo. Æqui boni hoc facio or consulo. Quanti mercatus es hunc equum? Pluris quam vellem.

But the word of value is sometimes in the ablative; as Parvi or parvo æstimas probitatem. And the word of price most usually; as Teruncio eum non emerim. And particularly in these adjectives, Vili, paulo, minimo, magno, nimio, plurimo, duplo, put without a substantive, as Vili vendo triticum. Redimite captum quàm queas minimo. And sometimes minore for minoris. Nam a Cælio propinqui minore centessimis nummum movere non possunt. Cic. Att. l. 1. But verbs neuter or passive have only the oblique cases after them; as Tanti eris aliis, quanti tibi fueris. Pudor parvi penditur. Which is also to be observed in the following rules.

And this neuter valeo governeth the word of value in the accusative; as Denarii dicti quod denos æris valebant. Varr.

Verbs of admonishing, accusing, condemning, acquitting, will have, besides their accusative, a genitive of the crime, or penalty, or thing, as Admonuit me errati. Accusas me furti? Vatem sceleris damnat. Furem dupli condemnavit. And sometimes an ablative with a preposition, or without; as Condemnabo eodem ego te crimine. Accusas furti, an stupri, an utroque? De repetundis accusavit, or damnavit. Cic.

Also these impersonals, pœnitet, tædet, miseret, miserescit, pudet, piget, to their accusative will have a genitive, either of

the person, or of the thing; as Nostri nosmet pœnitet. Ud me tædet. Pudet me negligentiæ.

An Accusative with a Dative.

VERBS of giving or restoring, promising or paying, co manding or shewing, trusting or threatening, add to th accusative a dative of the person; as Fortuna multis nimi dedit. Hæc tibi promitto. Æs alienum mihi numera Frumentum imperat civitatibus. Quod et cui dicas, vide Hoc tibi suadeo. Tibi or ad te scribo. Pecuniam omnem t credo. Utrique mortem minatus est.

To these add verbs active compounded with these prepo tions, præ, ad, ab, con, de, ex, ante, sub, post, ob, in, s inter; as Præcipio hoc tibi. Admovit urbi exercitum. C legæ suo imperium abrogavit. Sic parvis componere mag solebam.

Neuters have a dative only; as Meis majoribus virtute p luxi. But some compounded with præ and ante may have accusative; as Præstat ingenio alius alium. Multos an sapientia. Others with a preposition, as Quæ ad ventris v tum conducunt. In hæc studia incumbite. Cic.

Also all verbs active, betokening acquisition, likening, relation, commonly englished with to or for, have to th accusative a dative of the person; as Magnam laudem s peperit. Huic habeo, non tibi. Se illis æquarunt. Exp mihi hoc negotium: but mihi, tibi, sibi, sometimes are add for elegance, the sense not requring; as Suo hunc sibi jugu gladio. Terent. Neuters a dative only; as Non omnibus d mio. Libet mihi. Tibi licet.

Sometimes a verb transitive will have to his accusativ double dative, one of the person, another of the thing; as I tibi vestem pignori. Verto hoc tibi vitio. Hoc tu tibi la duces.

A double Accusative.

VERBS of asking, teaching, arraying, and concealing, v have two accusatives, one of the person, another of the thin as Rogo te pecuniam. Doceo te literas. Quod te jamdud hortor. Induit se calceos. Hoc me celabas.

And being passives, they retain one accusative of the thi as Sumtumque recingitur anguem. Ovid. Met. 4. Indui ocram. Mart.

But verbs of arraying sometimes change the one accusative into an ablative or dative; as Induo te tunicâ, or tibi tunicam. Instravit equum penulâ, or equo penulam.

An Accusative with an Ablative.

VERBS transitive may have to their accusative an ablative of the instrument or cause, matter or manner of doing; and neuters the ablative only; as Ferit eum gladio. Taceo metu. Malis gaudet alienis. Summa eloquentia causam egit. Capitolium saxo quadrato substructum est. Tuo consilio nitor. Vescor pane. Affluis opibus. Amore abundas. Sometimes with a preposition of the manner; as Summâ cum humanitate me tractavit.

Verbs of endowing, imparting, depriving, discharging, filling, emptying, and the like, will have an ablative, and sometimes a genitive; as Dono te hoc annulo. Plurimâ salute te impertit. Aliquem familiarem suo sermone participavit. Paternum servum sui participavit consilii. Interdico tibi aquâ et igni. Libero te hoc metu. Implentur veteris Bacchi.

Also verbs of comparing or exceeding, will have an ablative of the excess; as Præfero hunc multis gradibus. Magno intervallo eum superat.

After all manner of verbs, the word signifying any part of a thing may be put in the genitive, accusative, or ablative; as Absurdè facis qui angus te animi. Pendet animi. Discrucior animi. Desipit mentis. Candet dentes. Rubet capillos. Ægrotat animo, magis quam corpore.

Nouns of Time and Place after Verbs.

NOUNS betokening part of time be put after verbs in the ablative, and sometimes in the accusative; as Nocte vigilas, luce dormis. Nullam partem noctis requiescit. Cic. Abhinc triennium ex Andro commigravit. Ter. Respondit triduo illum, ad summum quatriduo periturum. Cic. Or if continuance of time, in the accusative, sometimes in the ablative; as Sexaginta annos natus. Hyemem totam stertis. Imperium deponere maluerunt, quam id tenere punctum temporis contra religionem. Cic. Imperavit triennio, et decem mensibus. Suet. Sometimes with a preposition; as Ferè in diebus paucis, quibus hæc acta sunt. Ter. Rarely with a genitive; as, Temporis angusti mansit concordia discors. Lucan.

Also nouns betokening space between places are put in the accusative, and sometimes in the ablative; as, Pedem hinc ne discesseris. Abest ab urbe quingentis millibus passuum. Terrâ marique gentibus imperavit.

Nouns that signify place, and also proper names of greater places, as countries, be put after verbs of moving or remaining, with a preposition, signifying to, from, in, or by, in such case as the preposition requireth; as Proficiscor ab urbe. Vivit in Angliâ. Veni per Galliam in Italiam.

But if it be the proper name of a lesser place, as of a city, town, or lesser island, or any of these four, Humus, domus, militia, bellum, with these signs, on, in, or at, before them, being of the first or second declension, and singular number, they shall be put in the genitive; if of the third declension, or plural number, or this word rus, in the dative or ablative; as, Vixit Romæ, Londini. Ea habitabat Rhodi. Conon plurimum Cypri vixit. Cor. Nep. Procumbit humi bos. Domi bellique simul viximus. Militavit Carthagini, or Carthagine. Studuit Athenis. Ruri or rure educatus est.

If the verb of moving be to a place, it shall be put in the accusative; as Eo Romam, domum, rus. If from a place, in the ablative; as Discessit Londino. Abiit domo. Rure est reversus.

Sometimes with a preposition; as A Brundusio profectus est, Cic. Manil. Ut ab Athenis in Bœotiam irem. Sulpit. apud Cic. Fam. l. 4. Cum te profectum ab domo scirem. Liv. l. 8.

Construction of Passives.

A VERB passive will have after it an ablative of the doer, with the preposition a or ab before it, sometimes without, and more often a dative; as Virgilius legitur a me. Fortes creantur fortibus. Hor. Tibi fama petatur. And neutro-passives, as Vapulo, veneo, liceo, exulo, fio, may have the same construction; as Ab hoste venire.

Sometimes an accusative of the thing is found after a passive: as Coronari Olympia. Hor. Epist. 1. Cyclopa movetur. Hor. for saltat or egit. Purgor bilem. Id.

Construction of Gerunds and Supines.

GERUNDS and supines will have such cases as the verb from

whence they come; as Otium scribendi literas. Eo auditum poetas. Ad consulendum tibi.

A gerund in di is commonly governed both of substantives and adjectives in manner of a genitive, as Causa videndi. Amor habendi. Cupidus visendi. Certus eundi. And sometimes governeth a genitive plural; as Illorum videndi grâtia. Ter.

Gerunds in do are used after verbs in manner of an ablative, according to former rules, with or without a preposition; as, Defessus sum ambulando. A discendo facile deterretur. Cæsar dando, subievando, ignoscendo, gloriam adeptus est. In apparando consumunt diem.

A gerund in dum is used in manner of an accusative after prepositions governing that case; as, Ad capiendum hostes. Ante domandum ingentes tollent animos. Virg. Ob redimendum captivos. Inter cœnandum.

Gerunds in signification are ofttimes used as participles in dus, Tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causâ. Cic. Orationem Latinam legendis nostris efficies pleniorem. Cic. Ad accusandos homines præmio ducitur.

A gerund in dum joined with the impersonal est, and implying some necessity or duty to do a thing, may have both the active and passive construction of the verb from whence it is derived; as Utendum est ætate. Ov. Pacem Trojano a rege petendum. Virg. Iterandum eadem ista mihi. Cic. Serviendum est mihi amicis. Plura dixi, quam dicendum fuit. Cic. pro Sest.

Construction of Verb with Verb.

When two verbs come together, without a nominative case between them, the latter shall be in the infinitive mood; as Cupio discere Or in the first supine after verbs of moving, as Eo cubitum, spectatum. Or in the latter with an adjective; as Turpe est dictu. Facile factu. Opus scitu.

But if a case come between, not governed of the former verb, it shall always be an accusative before the infinitive mood; as Te redisse incolumem gaudeo. Malo me divitem esse, quam haberi.

And this infinitive esse, will have always after it an accusative, or the same case which the former verb governs; as

Expedit bonos esse vobis. Quo mihi commisso, non piam. But this accusative agreeth with another u before the infinitive, as Expedit vobis vos esse bonos. beatis omnibus esse dedit. Nobis non licet esse tan The same construction may be used after other neuter or passive like to esse in signification; as Ma postea et civi, et duci evadere contigit Val. Max L.

Sometimes a noun adjective or substantive govern finitive: as Audax omnia perpeti. Dignus amari. C ceperunt ex oppido profugere. Cæs. Minari divisor non erat Cic Ver. 1.

Sometimes the infinitive is put absolute for the perfect or preterperfect tense: as, Ego illud sedul factum. Ter. Galba autem multas similitudines affe Ille contra hæc omnia ruere, agere vitam. Ter.

Construction of Participles.

PARTICIPLES govern such cases as the verb from they come, according to their active or passive signi as, Fruitarus amicis. Nunquam audita mihi. Dilig omnibus. Sate sanguine divum. Telamone creatus. mortali cretus. Lucret. Nate dea. Edite regibus suspensi loculos tabulasque lacer.. Hor. Census e summam Id Abeundum est mihi Venus orta ma osus bella. Virg. Exosus dus. G l Arma perosa But Pertæsus hath an accusative otherwise than the Pertæsus ignaviam. Semet ipse pertæsus. Suet. add participial adjectives ending in dus of the passiv tion, and requiring like case after them; as Nulli pe astro lucus erat.

Participles changed into adjectives have their cons by the rules of adjectives, as Appetens vini. Fugita Fidens animi.

An Ablative put absolute.

Two Nouns together, or a noun and pronoun with ple expressed or understood, put absolutely, that is neither governing nor governed of a verb, shall be pu ablative, as Authore senatu bellum geritur. Me duc Cæsare veniente hostes fugerunt. Sublato clamore committitur.

Construction of Adverbs.

En and ecce will have a nominative, or an accusative, and netimes with a dative; En Priamus. Ecce tibi status noster. habitum. Ecce autem alterum.

Adverbs of quantity, time, and place require a genitive; as tis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum satis. Also compounded th a verb; as Is rerum suarum satagit. Tunc temporis ique gentium. Eo impudentiæ processit. Quoad ejus fieri terit.

To these add Ergo signifying the cause; as Illius ergo. Virg. rtutis ergo. Fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abiturus. Liv. Others will have such cases as the nouns from whence they me; as Minime gentium. Optime omnium. Venit obviam .. Canit similiter huic. Albanum, sive Falernum te magis positis delectat. Hor.

Adverbs are joined in a sentence to several moods of verbs. Of time. Ubi, postquam, cum or quum, to an indicative or ɔjunctive; as Hæc ubi dicta dedit, Ubi nos laverimus. stquam excessit ex ephebis. Cum faciam vitula. Virg. m canerem regis. Id.

Donec while, to an indicative. Donec eris fælix. Donec til, to an indicative or subjunctive; Cogere donec oves jussit. g. Donec ea aqua decocta sit. Colum.

Dum while, to an indicative. Dum apparatur virgo. Dum il, to an indicative or subjunctive; as Dum redeo. Tertia n Latio regnantem viderit æstas. Dum for dummodo so or so that, to a subjunctive; Dum prosim tibi.

Quoad while, to an indicative. Quoad expectas contuberna-.. Quoad until, to a subjunctive. Omnia integra servabo, ad exercitus huc mittatur.

Simulac, simulatque to an indicative or subjunctive; as ulac belli patiens erat, simulatque adoleverit ætas.

Ut as, to the same moods. Ut salutabis, ita resalutaberis. sementem feceris, ita et metos. Hor. Ut so soon as, to indicative only: as Ut ventum est in urbem.

Quasi, tanquam, perinde, ac si, to a subjunctive only; as asi non norimus nos inter nos. Tanquam feceris ipse uid.

Ne of forbidding, to an imperative or subjunctive; as Ne i. Ne metuas.

Certain adverbs of quantity, quality, or cause, a quoties, cur, quare, &c. Thence also qui, quis, quam lis, and the like, coming into a sentence after the verb, govern the verb following in a subjunctive; quàm valdè malitiæ suæ confidat. Cic. Quid est isto loco sedeas? Cic. pro Cluent. Subsideo mihi di comparavi, quæ quanta sit intelligi non potest, nisi, pro Quint. Nam quid hoc iniquius dici potest. qui caput alterius fortunasque defendam, priore loc Ibid Nullum est officium tam sanctum atque solen non avaritia violare soleat. Ibid. Non me fallit, si mini quid sitis responsuri. Ibid. Dici vix pote multa sint quæ respondeatis ante fieri oportere. Ibid quo die hunc sibi promisisse dicat, eo die ne Romæ qui fuisse. Ibid. Conturbatus discedit neque mirum optio tam misera daretur. Ibid. Narrat quo in loc Quintium. Ibid. Recte majores eum qui socium in virorum bonorum numero non putarunt haberi Cic pro Rosc. Am. Quæ concursatio percontanti prætor edixisset, ubi cœnaret, quid enunti asset. Cic.

Of Conjunctions.

Conjunctions copulative and disjunctive, and th Quam, nisi, præterquam, an, couple like cases; as docuit Xenophontem et Platonem. Aut dies est, Nescio albus an ater sit. Est minor natu quàm tu. placet præterquam sibi.

Except when some particular construction require wise; as Studui Romæ et Athenis. Emi fundum nummis et pluris. Accusas furti, an stupri, an utroq

They also couple for the most part like moods an as Recto stat corpore, despicitque terras. But not al tenses; as Nisi me lactasses, et vanâ spe produceres. betur, et referetur tibi a me gratia.

Of other conjunctions, some govern an indicative, so junctive, according to their several significations.

Etsi, tametsi, etiamsi, quanquam, an indicative; and licet, most commonly a subjunctive, as Etsi n afferebatur. Quanquam animus meminisse horret. Elysios miretur Græcia campos. Ipse licet venias.

Ni, nisi, si, siquidem, quod, quia, postquam, postea, quam, equam, priusquam, an indicative or subjunctive; as Nisi vi is eripi. Ni faciat. Castigo te, non quòd odeo habeam, quòd amem. Antequam dicam. Si for quamvis, a subtive only. Redeam? Non si me obsecret.

i also conditional may sometimes govern both verbs of the ence in a subjunctive; as Respiraro si te videro. Cic. ad c.

uando, quandoquidem, quoniam, an indicative; as Dicite doquidem in molli consedimus herbâ. Quoniam convenis ambo.

um, seeing that, a subjunctive; as Cum sis officiis Gradive ibus aptus.

e, an, num, of doubting, a subjunctive; as Nihil refert, risne, an persuaseris. Vise num redierit.

nterrogatives also of disdain or reproach understood, govern bjunctive; as Tantum dem, quantum ille poposcerit? Cic. r. 4. Sylvam tu Scantiam vendas? Cic. Agrar. Hunc tu ames? Cic. ad Attic. Furem aliquem aut rapacem accus? Vitanda semper erit omnis avaritiæ suspicio. Cic. Verr. 4. netimes an infinitive; as Mene incœpto desistere victam? g.

Ut that, lest not, or although, a subjunctive; as Te oro, ut eat jam in viam. Metuo ut substet hospes. Ut omnia tingat quæ volo.

Of Prepositions.

Of prepositions some will have an accusative after them, ne an ablative, some both, according to their different sigcation.

An accusative these following, Ad, apud, ante, adversus, adsum, cis, citra, circum, circa, circiter, contra, erga, extra, er, intra, infra, juxta, ob, ponè, per, propè, propter, post, nes, præter, secundum, supra, secùs, trans, ultra, usque, sus: but versus is most commonly set after the case it erns, as Londinum versus.

And for an accusative after ad, a dative sometimes is used poets; as, It clamor cœlo. Virg. Cœlo si gloria tollit neadum. Sil. for ad cœlum.

An ablative these, A, ab, abs, absque, cum, coram
pro, præ, palàm, sine, tenus, which last is also pu
case, being most usually a genitive, if it be plural;
tenus. Aurium tenus.

These, both cases, In, sub, super, subter, clam, p

In, signifying to, towards, unto, or against, requi
cusative, as Pisces emptos obolo in cœnam sem.
Teucros benignus. Versa est in cineres Troja.
mittere tantum quid Troes potuere? Lastly, when
future time, or for; as Bellum in trigesimum di
erunt. Designati consules in annum sequentum
faciunt in singula capita canum. Var. Otherwise in
an ablative; as In urbe. In terris.

Sub, when it signifies to, or in time, about, or a litt
requires an accusative, as Sub umbram properemus
tempus. Sub noctem. Otherwise an ablative. Sub
Sub umbrâ.

Super signifying beyond, or present time, an accu
Super Garamantas et Indos. Super cœnam, Suet.
time. Of or concerning, an ablative; as Multa supe
rogitans. Super hac re.

Super, over or upon, may have either case; as Su
Tiberis effusus. Sæva sedens super arma. Fron
viridi.

So also may subter; as Pugnatum est super subter
ras. Subter densâ testudine. Virg. Clam patrem
Procul muros. Liv. Patriâ procul.

Prepositions in composition govern the same cases
in apposition. Adibo hominem. Detrudunt naves
And the preposition is sometimes repeated; as D
de tuâ famâ nunquam cogitavi. And sometimes un
governeth his usual case; as Habeo te loco parentis.
ruit humana specie. Cumis erant oriundi. Liv. Li
rentibus oriundis Colum. Mutat quadrata rotundi
Pridie compitalia. Pridie nonas or calendas. Postri
Postridie ludos. Before which accusatives ante or po
be understood. Filii ad ætatis. Cic. Hoc noctis. Li
derstand Secundum. Or refer to part of time. Om
curio similis. Virg. Understand per.

Of Interjections.

CERTAIN interjections have several cases after them. O, a nominative, accusative, or vocative; as O festus dies hominis. O ego lævus. Hor. O fortunatos. O formose puer.

Others a nominative or an accusative; as Heu prisca fides! Heu stirpem invisam! Proh sancte Jupiter! Proh deum atque hominum fidem! Hem tibi Davum!

Yea, though the interjection be understood; as Me miserum! Me cœcum, qui hæc ante non viderim.

Others will have a dative; as Hei mihi. Væ misero mihi. Terent.

END OF ACCEDENCE COMMENCED GRAMMAR.

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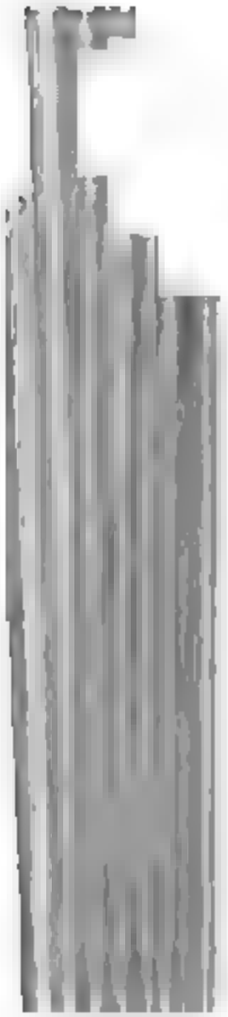

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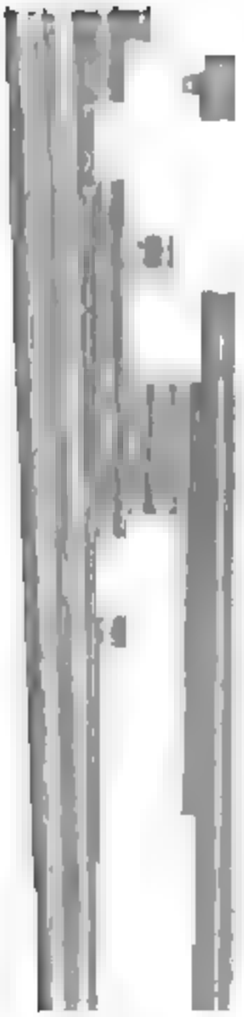

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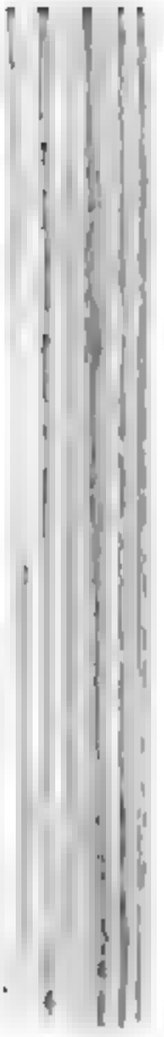

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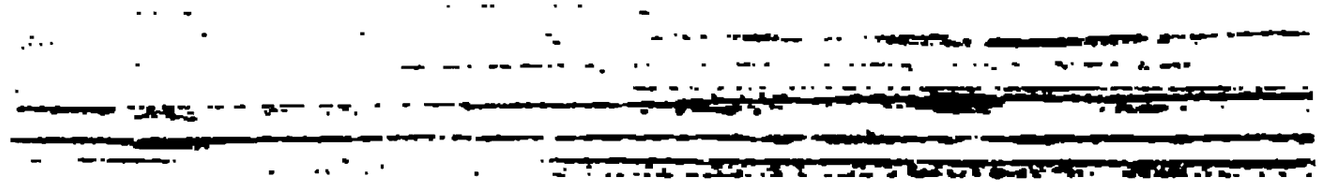

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